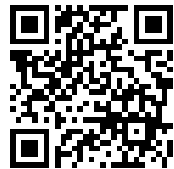

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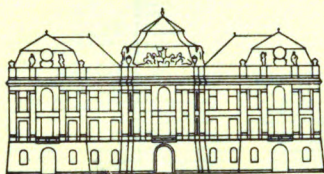
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RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION.



VOL. II.

A
HISTORY OF THE LIFE
OF
RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION
KING OF ENGLAND

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BLACK PRINCE," "LIFE OF LOUIS XIV.," ETC.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
SAUNDERS AND OTLEY, CONDUIT STREET.
1842.



LONDON:

BLATCH AND LAMPERT PRINTERS, GROVE PLACE, BROMPTON.



HISTORY OF THE LIFE
OF
RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION.

WHEN Prince Richard, afterwards King of England, first entered upon the busy scene of life, by flying from the court of his father, and taking part with two of his brothers in their rebellion, he had not yet completed his sixteenth year ; but was even then robust, powerful, and active in body, and haughty, bold, and decided in character. The fierceness, as well as the strength and courage of the lion, showed itself at a very early age ; though he pursued with all the eagerness of his nature those softer arts which were calculated to mitigate his harsher qualities. In regard to his early education, we have but few minute particulars. It was undoubtedly such as was then usually given

to the sons of nobles and princes; but, in all probability, his father Henry, who was well versed in polite literature himself, took pains to afford his sons as complete a knowledge of letters as was to be obtained in those days. We know, indeed, that Richard, though inferior to his father in learning, was superior, in that respect, to most of the princes of his time; his fondness for music and skill in poetry, are attested by contemporaries; and those two arts formed the relaxation of his idle hours, and his consolation in sorrow and captivity.

In all the sports and exercises of chivalry, Richard was præeminent; and to obtain the degree of proficiency which he had acquired, not only great dexterity and activity of body was necessary, but long and early training. The cultivation of those corporeal powers which were required to obtain great military renown in those days, was indeed a natural consequence of the feudal system; and the chivalrous education which every baron bestowed upon his son in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, forms so curious and characteristic a point in the history of that age, that I must dwell upon it here, in order to show, in some degree, the discipline which Richard had already gone through before he quitted the court of his father.

Till the young noble had entered the seventh year of his age, he was, in almost all cases, left to the care and government of women. The nurse, the mother, and her attendants taught, during that

period, all that the infant mind was capable of receiving, gave the first notions of religion, and first bade the young heart aspire to honour and renown. At seven years of age, from those tender hands which had smoothed the pillow of his infancy, the boy was taken and consigned to the rougher charge of men, who immediately began to prepare him for the life of danger, toil, and strife that he was to undergo. His first station was usually as page; and I cannot discover that there was any difference in the treatment and occupations of the sons of the highest noblemen while in this capacity, and that of the youths of inferior rank, who were admitted to aid in the task. In king's courts, indeed, the former were sometimes styled "children of honour;" but still the page served his master at table, gave him the wine-cup, held the basin in which he washed before dinner, and rendered to him a thousand other offices of the same kind. The services of the page, however, were amply repaid by the instruction he received, not only in military exercises, but in demeanour, in conduct, and in religion. We find from Joinville, who was himself educated by St. Louis, that the great and good king to whom he attached himself through life, took infinite pleasure in exercising the minds of the young men at his court, in making them discuss various questions thrown out at random, in aiding their judgment, and directing their views aright. Indeed, nothing can give us a better or a more pleasing view of the

domestic life of the princes of that day, in those cases where it was governed by virtue and wisdom, than the picture afforded us of the court of St. Louis by the good Seneschal of Champagne.

The houses of all the great nobility, more especially in France, were in fact schools for chivalrous education. The castle of each lord was open for the reception of the sons of all his friends and relations; and we are assured that it would have been considered a great want of courtesy in any baron to refuse admission to the son of a noble friend into his household as a page. Thus the number of these youths in every large family was very great; for it is to be remarked that in almost all cases, parents, diffident of their own resolution and firmness, entrusted the care of their sons between seven and fourteen years of age to any distinguished person, upon whom they had claims either by friendship or by blood. The more celebrated was the knight or warrior, the more eagerly was his protection and instruction sought for the youth of his kinsmen and friends; and though his reputation might thus sometimes produce a severe tax upon him, yet many great objects were gained by attaching to his family and person a number of youths growing up to manhood, eager for military glory, and imbued with the principles which he himself had instilled.

The children of kings and sovereign princes indeed were generally, though not always, educated in their own court; and it is probable that Henry had

in view to pay the highest and most gratifying compliment that he could offer to Louis King of France, when he promised, some years before the period of which we now speak, to send his son Richard to be educated at the court of France. That he ever intended to keep that promise, I do not believe, inasmuch as many considerations withheld a king from yielding to a custom which might be most beneficial to the son of a vassal, but must have proved most dangerous in the case of a sovereign prince. In his own court, Richard could obtain more military knowledge than at that of France; and however much it might be Henry's policy to link the interests of Louis with his own by the bonds of alliance, it was quite contrary to all the dictates of wisdom and foresight to suffer the mind of his son to imbibe the maxims of a rival and often inimical country.

Almost all the sports of the youth of that day, as far as can be discovered, were of a military character; and we find that shooting with a bow, playing with the cudgels and back-sword, the casting heavy weights, climbing, leaping, riding, swimming, and other exercises of the kind, were commenced at a very early period, and gradually developed the powers of body, and strengthened the limbs, between the age at which the boy was taken from the hands of the women, and that at which he was first allowed to gird to his side the sword of manhood. During the period of their service as page, however, the youths remained much with the

women of the family, whose task it was still to instruct them in many things, though their power over them was at an end. The course of teaching indeed was somewhat changed; for though religion formed one of the branches of education which was entrusted to the ladies of the family, another subject of instruction, which in those days might well deserve the name of a science, was love.

It is not unworthy of remark, with what natural dexterity, if we may use the term, society as it advances adopts those measures best calculated to remedy the evils of the state from which it is emerging. From the licentious brutality of the early ages of feudalism arose the wonderful institution of chivalry; and the rude profession of arms, the constant presence of battle and danger, the frequent exposure of innocence and weakness to violence and wrong, gave birth to a system which placed the feebler portion of human nature under the strong protecting arm of opinion, by attaching the idea of honour to courtesy and love. Man felt the necessity of some humanising and softening power, and love was the first agent to which he could apply. But to render this agent effectual, it became necessary to subleize and refine those feelings, which in a harsh and barbarous state, might but have given additional fierceness to the character of the times. Thus love was itself softened and purified in the first instance, in order to soften and purify the minds of those who adopted it as a part

of their calling and profession; and passion, hidden under various disguises, led into the human heart all the sweet charities and bland amenities of life. It is true, that in very many instances, at all periods, and with a lamentable frequency at an after period, the purer spirit was forgotten, and the coarser threw off her disguise, or only used it to adorn vice and licentiousness. But the chivalrous love as then taught was pure and high, however the passions of man might mislead him in following it. Nothing could be too mystical, nothing could be too subtle or high-toned for that love which the young aspirant to chivalry was taught to feel for the lady whom he selected as the object of his devotion; and it was wisely arranged, that the course of systematic instruction which he received in so delicate a science should be given at an age when passion could not mingle with the lessons; thus ensuring that the ideas which he first received of such attachments should be those which were best calculated to purify, to elevate, and to refine.

We must recollect, as Lord Lyttleton says in one of the finest parts of his work, that these things "had then a real existence. The gallantry of the knights to the ladies, which had an air of devotion; their presenting them with the prizes they had won in their tournaments, and even with the prisoners they had taken in war; their delivering of captives, especially of the fair sex, from castles where they were violently detained and injuriously treated; their pur-

suing assassins or robbers, to punish or destroy them, without form of laws; and their obliging lords of castles to abolish evil customs which they had caused to be observed in their districts or manors; all these things, which are feigned of knights in the French and Spanish romances, were often done in real life, and arose out of the principles of knighthood itself, the disorders of the feudal government, and the spirit of the times."

Such also was the case in regard to the regular instructions in love given to the sons of noble families, while in the condition of page; and that love was, in all those lessons, so intimately combined with the thoughts of religion, of honour, of glory, and of everything that men were told to venerate or to covet, that those ideas became inseparable in the after life of the youths who received them. The common expressions of the day even, irreverend as they often are, show strikingly that this was the case. Such were the terms, "Honour to God and the ladies," "for the love of Heaven and his lady," and many others which it is unnecessary to mention. Thus woman's corporeal weakness was placed under the shield of opinion, and the courtesy which was inculcated as a duty towards all ladies was very readily extended to many transactions between man and man.

Besides the task of showing himself dexterous, graceful, and prompt in serving his lord, the page was instructed how to receive with civility and po-

liteness the guests who visited the dwelling in which he had himself been received. To them he was bound to display every sort of reverence, to attend to their wants and wishes, to listen to their conversation with respect, and to obey their commands with gladness.

Such was in some degree the training of a youth till he arrived at fourteen years of age; but then came a period at which more laborious exercises succeeded, and the advance from page to squire was marked by a ceremony which has been very frequently confounded with the dubbing of a knight. I am rather inclined to believe, indeed, that in very many instances, especially in the case of princes, the two ceremonies were united. But nevertheless, it is indisputably proved by Ste. Palaye and others, that in ordinary cases, the binding on the military girdle, and receiving the sword from the altar, was a distinct ceremony from the dubbing.*

* The mistake made by the writers who have confounded these two ceremonies—a mistake into which Dr. Meyrick himself has fallen—has led to the greatest confusion. The only occasions on which we can be sure that knighthood was really conferred at a very early age, that is to say, previous to the age of sixteen or seventeen, is where the ancient historian who mentions it uses some term which means that the act of dubbing took place, or (in those cases where royal personages were concerned as the recipients,) when other records prove that an aid was levied by the sovereign at that time for the making his son a knight; otherwise the words, “to give or to receive the military belt” does not with any certainty imply the ceremony of making a knight.

Previous to this period of life, the page was only permitted to wear a short dagger; but at fourteen, in general, he was led by his parents to the altar, on which was laid a sword. This was taken off by a priest, and was girded on with prayers and exhortations in regard to its use; and in general, festivities and rejoicings succeeded. After this, gradually increasing in point of duration and severity, came the more robust exercises; bearing heavy weights, running immense distances, enduring every sort of fatigue, springing on a horse armed at all pieces, without putting a foot in the stirrup, and even leaping on the shoulders of a man on horseback, with no other aid than a grasp of one arm, were amongst the performances of the aspirants to chivalry. Besides these feats, we read of others in the historians of those days, requiring equal strength and exertion, such as mounting by means of the arms alone the lower side of a long ladder, casting complete summersets in heavy armour, and climbing up between two walls at a small distance apart, by the pressure of the hands and feet only. Casting lances to great distances, and striking heavy balls of wood with large rackets or malls, were amongst the amusements of the youths of Europe at that period, besides that regular practice in the use of all weapons which daily took place. Almost all of their sports and pastimes indeed were of a military character. That which was called the Chicane, and which was practised in several parts of France

within the last century, together with dancing, chess, and some few games of chance, were the only exceptions, I believe ; and indeed the chicane, which consisted in following a heavy wooden ball, and beating it with malls beyond certain limits defended by another party, might well be considered a military sport, as well as hunting and hawking, from the dangers and accidents which continually occurred in such amusements.

Though the tournament, the joust, and the passage of arms did not admit of any but experienced and mature cavaliers, yet there were many other military pastimes of the day, in which the more youthful nobility could take part, and practise against each other a mimic warfare. Amongst these was the game of the Quintaine, which consisted in running with a lance, or sword, either on horseback or on foot, at a wooden figure, representing the upper part of a man's body. This was impaled upon a strong post, on which it turned with the slightest touch ; and both arms of the figure being extended, a lance or long sword was found in the one hand, and sometimes a shield or another pole in the other. As in all tournaments and other chivalrous sports, it was held unfair to strike an adversary anywhere but on the chest or helmet, the great object in the game of the Quintaine was so to direct the lance or sword with which the player attacked his wooden adversary, as to touch the figure directly in the middle ; but if

the luckless cavalier chanced to miss his mark, and strike too much to the right or left, the automaton instantly took vengeance of his awkwardness by whirling round in consequence of the very blow he gave it, and striking him violently with the weapons it carried in either hand.

The Behour was simply another military sport, and consisted in the attack of a small fortress, or redoubt, by one party, and its defence by others; and, as in all these amusements many accidents occurred, and some peril was encountered, strength and hardihood were acquired, and a knowledge of danger, and acquaintance with pain were gained, not unaccompanied by contempt of risk and habit of endurance.

The station which the young nobleman now filled, was that of squire, or ecuyer; and this rank, like that of page, had in itself various grades or classes in the courts of sovereigns and the houses of the great nobility. The military denomination of every young noble under the rank of knight was squire, and it was only in the houses of the lords to whom they were attached, that the distinction between one class and another began. Into a lengthened account of these distinctions it will not be necessary to enter; suffice it to say, that of course the squire of honour was the highest grade, which was probably conferred more in consequence of the rank of the person, than of any course of services. I do not believe that any but men of noble birth were reputed squires, although we find them per-

forming many sorts of service, which in after days were considered menial; such as leading the horses of their lords, carrying their lances, shields, and casques, and other offices of a character even servile. The part which the squires took in general battles and occasional combats, is differently stated by different authors. Ste. Palaye seems to believe that in general engagements the squires were forbidden to take part in the actual combat, or at all events were commanded to hold themselves entirely on the defensive. But this is proved by so many accounts to be incorrect, that it cannot be sustained for a moment. There are many hundreds of instances on record in every old chronicler and historian, of squires, in the prime and flowery days of chivalry, not only taking part in the battle, but of fighting hand to hand with, overcoming and slaying the adverse knights. If any other proof were necessary, it would be afforded by the famous battle of the Thirty, where the greater part of those employed on both sides had never attained the honour of knighthood. I am inclined to believe, however, that Ste. Palaye was only misled by a few occasional facts into laying down as a general rule what took place in particular cases. It seems to me probable that the squires of the body, or squires of honour of any particular lord or knight, were commanded, as Ste. Palaye says, to pay particular attention to all the movements of their lord, and to follow, assist, and defend him,

without regarding the progress of the general battle, or taking any part therein ; and indeed we have a remarkable instance of this in the case of the famous Audley at the battle of Poitiers, whose four squires followed him through the field, and bore him from it when he could no longer strike a blow.

Besides their military exercises, the squires in the courts and houses of their lords, made daily progress in the softer arts of life. Each castle in England, after the troublous days of Stephen were over, and when chivalry began to assume its milder form, became a school of courtesy, and we find that all the more distinguished nobles soon learned to value themselves upon their reputation for politeness and urbanity, their hospitality, generosity, and munificence, as much as upon their valour, power, and conduct. The unextinguished barbarism of the age remained but little softened in the heart of man, and broke out in the most violent, brutal, and sanguinary acts, when passions were excited and the blood hot, while the progress of society in civilization displayed itself in external things, and in the daily intercourse of life : as the summer sunshine brightens the colours and enriches the aspect of the peach, long before the fruit loses its wintry hardness, or obtains the sweetness of a maturer season. Thus Froissart describes the court of the Count of Foix, in which nevertheless many a terrible deed was done, as filled with knights and squires of honour, receiving all comers with the utmost courtesy, and exerting

themselves in every respect to entertain the guests, and to make their days pass in comfort and pleasure. Here, too, the lessons of love which had been taught before, were practised and repeated; and though, but too often, nature and passion changed the refined into the coarse, yet, in very many instances, the higher principles predominated, and at all events they tended to soften a licentiousness which would have existed probably to a still greater extent, and certainly in a much more brutal and degrading form, if they had never been called forth; while in the end they undoubtedly purified and elevated feelings that no one could wish destroyed. Society seemed spontaneously to make an effort, in almost all parts of Europe, to combine the highest military qualities with the most polished manners; and though the task was a difficult one to accomplish at any time, perhaps an impossible one to accomplish at the period of which we speak, yet the effect of that effort has been permanent, and is still felt throughout Europe.

It was while in the midst of that chivalrous education, which was the principal means employed to produce such results, that Richard, Duke of Aquitaine, fled to the court of the King of France, with the open purpose of taking arms against his father. We cannot doubt, from all the accounts which have been received, that Henry, though setting an example of constant activity, and of a fondness for those sports and exercises that prepared the body for military

fatigues, was, in other respects, an over-indulgent parent. This, perhaps, might have some effect upon the character of Richard, developing all that fiery eagerness and impatience of control, which formed prominent and dangerous traits both in his father and his mother, and were perhaps still more conspicuous in himself. Henry, indeed, was furious when disappointed or offended, almost to a pitch of insanity ; and the accounts given of his intemperate language, fierce and extravagant gestures, of his casting himself down upon the ground, gnawing the coverings of his bed, and other wild acts of passion, give us a very lamentable picture of human weakness ; but he was cautious in acting, though always prompt in preparation. Richard, on the contrary, though we are told that his looks were generally menacing when opposed or contradicted, was even more rash and prompt in action than in words. A blasphemous oath, or bitter jest, was generally followed instantly by some wild and brilliant, but surprising act of revenge, or else his anger was suffered to evaporate in those few words, and the matter was forgotten. His father's indulgence, however, doubtless increased the impetuosity of his character ; and when he found himself at the court of France, freed from all control, honoured, courted, caressed, and taught to believe his wildest pretensions just and the restraint which his father still strove to hold over him cruel and tyrannical, all the evil points in his character must

have gained a still greater ascendancy, had it not been for the presence and superior influence of his elder brother Henry, and the tenderness of affection with which all the nobles of France seem to have regarded Geoffrey, the youngest of the three sons of the English King.

Of his elder brother, Richard very soon conceived a degree of jealousy, the effects of which we shall have to notice hereafter; and it would seem that the first seeds were early sown at the court of France, where the young Henry was treated in every respect as King of England, and everything was done which could flatter his vanity or increase his inordinate pride. His conduct, however, in the dangerous and difficult circumstances wherein he had placed himself, showed vast inferiority of mind, when compared with that of his father at the same early age. Some wrong, it is true, might have been done him by that father in refusing him the possession of that power and wealth which he had been taught to expect; and, had he wisely limited his desires and efforts to produce a change in this particular point, his rebellion might have terminated with less disgrace to his understanding, if not with honour to his heart. Encouraged, however, by the King of France, he now showed a determination of waging war against his father, till he had obtained possession of authority which he had not the slightest right to claim during his parent's life-time and dominions which he could only acquire

by usurpation. These pretensions, and the haughtiness with which he urged them, the adulation which he received in the court of Louis, and the use that he made of his assumed authority, were all calculated to produce angry feelings in the mind of his brother Richard; but at the same time a thousand motives might prevent the latter prince from abandoning the party he had once espoused, and from returning to the parent against whom he had taken arms. In the first place, the ideas which had been instilled into him by his mother, for whom his affection appears to have been tender, unvarying, and sincere, caused him to view all his father's acts in an evil light. In the next place, the ordinary feeling of shame, especially acting upon a young and inexperienced mind, taught him to shrink from seeking a parent to whom he had violated his duty; and in the third place, he was involved in a vast and extensive conspiracy, comprising some of the first and most influential persons in his father's insular and continental dominions. These persons he could not abandon without reproach, and according to the maxims of society, without dishonor; and therefore, we find him continuing in arms against his king and his parent, although the whole attention of the court of France was paid to his elder brother, whom he seems neither to have loved nor revered. The younger Henry indeed appears to have possessed very many qualities which were calculated to inspire jealousy in the

breast of his brother Richard. Though he was evidently weak in character, and though various traits will show that he was vain and haughty; yet he was remarkably handsome in person, powerful in body, skilful and renowned in all martial exercises, and wonderfully popular in his manners. Perhaps no prince was ever more generally loved than the young King by the great body of his inferiors; and it is only from some small traits, which those who praise him most have conveyed to us, together with the weak and criminal acts by which he signalized his rebellion against his father, that we are taught to believe he would have been, had he lived, one of the worst monarchs that ever sat on the English throne.

No sooner had Henry provided, as far as possible, for the security of his Norman frontier, than, as we have before said, he sent faithful ambassadors to the court of France, both to discover the intentions of his revolted children and of the monarch who supported them, and to labour for the purpose of arranging some terms by which the storm of war might be averted. His envoys were two venerable and respectable prelates, the old Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Lisieux. Neither their sacred character, however, nor the justice of the cause they came to advocate, nor a sense of piety, could induce the King of France to treat the ambassadors of Henry with decent respect; and his reply to their greeting on being admitted to

his court, was—if we may trust William of Newbury—equally unworthy of a monarch, a father, a christian, or a man of sense. He first demanded who sent them with such messages as those which they delivered? They replied, with some astonishment, that it was the King of England.

“That is false,” replied Louis, pointing to the younger Henry; “here is the King of England,—he never sent you to me;” and he then went on to contend that Henry the Second had resigned the throne to his son, when he caused him to be crowned, although he himself well knew how little that act conferred any real sovereignty, by the customs of the very people over which he reigned.

The bishops, however, still pursued their object. They exhorted Louis to avoid the horrors of warfare,—they magnified the benefits of peace,—they represented to him the evil of encouraging dissensions between a father and his sons, and they used all those arguments which, as christian prelates, they might well employ in addition to the reasons of policy and human expediency, which they brought forward on behalf of the king.

Louis, however, was deaf to their exhortations. He avowed, openly, that he was determined to go to war; he accused Henry of subtlety and continual violation of faith towards him; he declared that he had resolved upon hostilities before he was joined by Prince Henry; and he talked vaguely of Henry having excited his subjects to enmity against

him from the mountains of Auvergne* to the banks of the Rhone. At the same time, he assigned as special causes for adhering to his warlike resolution, that Henry had not sent the Princess Margaret of France to her husband, that he retained her dower, and that he had received the Count of St. Giles and Toulouse to liege homage, in contempt of the rights of the crown of France; and the monarch ended by swearing, that he would never make peace with Henry without the consent of that king's wife and sons.

The only one of the charges urged against the English sovereign which would appear to have been justified by fact, was that which related to the homage of the Count of Toulouse, and even in this instance the offence seems to have been a mere informality. The Count's homage was certainly due to Richard, as Duke of Aquitaine, and to him the act was performed; for we are assured that the ceremony was postponed at the congress of Clermont, because the young prince was not present. But it would appear that the Count afterwards, as Richard was not in

* This is a curious expression. There might have been some question whether Auvergne was under the domination of Henry, as Suzerain, or under that of Louis; but the territory between Auvergne and the Rhone is, I believe, only found mentioned as a matter of dispute between the monarchs on that one occasion. The words used on this subject, in the letter written by the two bishops, are as follows:—"Quod subditos suæ ditioni populos à montibus Alvernæ usque ad Rhodanum in ipsius odium concitastis."

full and real possession of Aquitaine and Poitou, did homage as well to Henry as to his son, a concession which the King of England was very willing, undoubtedly, to grasp at, but which can scarcely be considered a legitimate cause for warfare, when it is recollected that the act should have been performed to Henry himself by the Count of Toulouse very many years before, and in the oath of homage was distinctly inserted the words—"saving the faith due to Louis, King of France."

The real causes, however, of Louis's hostile determination, were, his jealousy of the power and reputation of his neighbour, the ancient enmity which had subsisted between them ever since the flight of Becket, and the restless spirit of military adventure which has at all times animated the nobles of France. The letter of Henry's ambassadors shows us that the whole court of Louis was eager and impatient for hostilities; and, amidst the warnings to prepare for a more fierce and pertinacious war than he had ever yet waged, which they give to their sovereign, they insert a caution against darker and more criminal proofs of enmity. Their words clearly point at murder; and though it is scarcely possible to believe, that either Louis or the King of England's own sons did countenance such a purpose, yet we cannot doubt that men of so high a reputation as the Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Lisieux would have refrained from the insinuation, had

they not been well assured by all they saw and heard, that the life of their sovereign was really in danger from the knife of the assassin.*

Giving up all hope of effecting the object for which they had been sent, the ambassadors left the court of France and returned to Rouen; while Henry, still anxious to terminate peacefully the unnatural contention which had arisen between himself and his sons, dispatched messengers to the Pope, beseeching him to interfere as the common father of the Christian world. In the mean time, however, all things combined to hurry on the commencement of warfare. The seeds of conspiracy which had been sown by Eleanor, produced more bitter fruit, and gave its harvest more rapidly than even the King of France and the monarch's sons could have anticipated. Every province of Henry's continental dominions, every county in England, had received the germs of insurrection; and negotiations of the most extensive kind were rapidly carried on with all the monarch's neighbours, to detach them from his alliance, and to engage them to cooperate in the impious warfare which was about to commence.

The younger Henry had been accompanied, or closely followed, by three of his father's principal

* Amongst other expressions which leave no doubt of what they meant, is the following :—“*Nec satis est ei exterminare terræ faciem igne gladio ; sed in vestram personam (quod absit) scelus execrabile machinatur.*”

courtiers ; but he had not been long at the French court, when Paris and Chartres became crowded by fugitives from the dominions of the King of England. The discontented nobles of Brittany instantly took arms against Henry ; a number of the barons of Aquitaine and Poitou followed their example ; fewer of the Normans indeed, gave way ; but in England the sedition was more alarming than in any other quarter, both from its extent, and from the station of the persons which it comprised. Richard de Lucy, Henry's gallant and determined friend, remained in London as grand justiciary, warned by his sovereign to watch the progress of events, and to take measures for defeating the designs of the malcontents. So sudden, however, and unexpected, was the outburst of the rebellion, that no great military power had been prepared to repress it ; and de Lucy could only take gentler means to restrain the disaffected till the extent of the conspiracy was fully known, and the loyal subjects of the king could be rallied round his standard.

Such was the state of affairs in England, when Robert Earl of Leicester, and William Earl of Tankerville, came in haste to London, and applied to the grand justiciary for permission to cross the sea into France. It is probable that de Lucy had cause to suspect one at least of these noblemen, namely, the Earl of Leicester, who was known to have borrowed large sums of money on every side ; and the justiciary, therefore, before he gave the permission

that they sought, compelled them both to take an oath upon the sacrament, to be faithful to the king, Henry the Second. Having done this, he suffered them to depart; and they immediately proceeded to France in order, notwithstanding their vow, to join the party of the insurgents. Their example was followed by a number of others, amongst whom were the Earl of Chester, the Earl of Mellent, Robert de Montfort, and a long list of noblemen, who, we are assured by Diceto, did not join the princes from any belief in the justice of their cause, but simply because Henry the Second had freely punished them for offences, taking from them their castles or levelling them with the ground, and repressing, with a strong hand, the crimes and misconduct of all classes of men. Besides all these, were many persons on whom the king probably counted as faithful subjects, the chief of whom was Hugh Bigot, whose castle of Framlingham now became the focus of rebellion for the northern and eastern counties of England.

In Brittany the people were soon in actual revolt; the first to raise the standard was the Viscount de Fougères, who was almost immediately joined by Asculph de St. Hiliare, one of the earliest and most active promoters of the rebellion of Henry's sons. To them the Earl of Chester soon brought aid from England; and Eudes, the disappointed claimant of the duchy, seized the favourable

opportunity of recovering the hereditary estates, of which Henry had deprived him. Nor was Henry less seriously menaced on the northern side of Normandy; for there the allies, on whose faith he had the best reason to rely with confidence, abandoned him in the most shameless and disgraceful manner. Philip, Count of Flanders, whose friend, protector, and guardian he had been, and Matthew, Count of Boulogne, whom he had in fact enriched, by enabling him to marry the daughter of Stephen, both of whom were bound to him by treaties and by oaths, were now induced to violate their most solemn engagements. At the solicitation of the King of France, they not only promised to join the young King Henry, but did homage to him, receiving as their reward, a grant of the county of Kent, and an annual subsidy of a thousand pounds sterling, together with another grant of detached lands in England and of the county of Mortagne, which had so long been coveted by the Count of Boulogne. Nor were these the only acts of lavish profusion by which the young king endeavoured to gain allies, and to stimulate the zeal of his supporters. On the Count of Blois he bestowed the fortress of Amboise, and vast rights in Touraine, together with an annuity; on the King of Scotland, the whole of Northumberland beyond Tyne; Cambridgeshire as well as Huntingdon, were given to David, brother of the

Scottish king; Norwich and the honour of Eye, to Hugh Bigot; and a multitude of other estates to other persons, sealing all the grants with an imitation of the great seal of England.

Thus did the weak and improvident prince divide his father's territories amongst those who promised him support in his rebellion, and hold out, as an inducement to treason and breach of faith, the plunder of his parent, and the pillage of his own heritage. He was lamentably successful; and armies were collected round Henry the Second on every side with the rapidity which the feudal system so greatly favoured. Although the flight of the young king did not take place until after Easter, the King of France was in the field with an immense force before the 1st of July, and previous to that period hostilities had commenced between the Count of Flanders and the Normans. The first effort of the war, indeed, was nothing but a brief irruption into Henry's territories, where the Flemings were encountered by the nobles of Normandy, and the bridge by which the former had crossed a river breaking, from the pressure of numbers in their flight, the greater part were drowned. The more important operations of the campaign, however, began with the siege of Verneuil, on the part of the King of France, and the siege of Aumale, then called Albemarle, on the northern frontier of Normandy, by the Counts of Flanders and Bou-

logne.* We neither know the number of men in the army of Louis, nor in that of the Counts; but we are told that each was very great, and each it is proved was completely furnished with many of the enormous engines used in those days for battering the walls of a besieged city. Louis's force, indeed, is said to have comprised seven thousand knights, from which statement there is reason to believe that his whole force of horse and foot was the largest which had been brought into the field by any king of France for many years. His progress, however, was more slow than that of his ally the sovereign of Flanders.

In the meantime Henry did not show, on the present occasion, that alacrity in defending himself which he had heretofore displayed whenever he was attacked. He saw his territories ravaged during the greater part of the spring, without taking any vigorous measures to retaliate upon the enemy; and he even witnessed the siege of two of his strongest frontier fortresses without marching to the relief of either. Various causes have been assigned for this apparent apathy, and probably many considerations had each some share in keeping him inactive. He might well dread personally plunging into a warfare, where, in the first field of battle,

* Some authors imply that the young King Henry was with the army of the Count of Flanders; but it seems to me much more probable that he should be at this time with Louis, as other authors assert.

three of his children were likely to be found arrayed against himself. He might wish, also, to ascertain clearly where he could place trust and confidence, in order that he might not be betrayed in the moment of need; and he might think it necessary to increase his forces very greatly before he ventured to encounter either of the enemy's armies.

Henry was not wholly inactive, however; but finding that the number of his vassals on whom he could rely, would by no means furnish a sufficient body of troops to encounter his enemies in the field, he had recourse to that evil expedient which he had condemned so strongly in the case of Stephen. His exact economy, good management and rigid dealing with his inferior officers, placed great wealth at his disposal; and no difficulty was found at that period in meeting with large bodies of military adventurers, ready to sell the service of their swords to any one who had gold to offer. These people were generally called Brabançois, or Brabançons, the Duchy of Brabant being the country from which they principally came at the time the custom first began to be adopted; and thirty thousand of these men, of determined courage and much military experience, were speedily engaged in the service of the King of England. They were in general held in great abhorrence by the people of any country in which they made war; for their circumstances and habits rendered them even more unsparing and active in the trade of plunder and butchery than the ordinary

soldiery of the day, though they were not celebrated for gentleness or humanity.

For some time after the Brabançois had joined the King of England, Henry still remained in the heart of Normandy without displaying any very great activity. He did indeed dispatch a body of the mercenaries into Brittany, for the purpose of repressing the revolt in that quarter, but their first efforts were not successful; and a number of Henry's partisans having been cut to pieces near the small town of St. James, the Brabançois were forced to retire from the Duchy. In the meanwhile the situation of Normandy, for some weeks, appeared to grow worse and worse. Aumale was taken with very great rapidity, and the Count or Earl of Albemarle,* who commanded there, has been suspected of treachery. Certain it is, that, to purchase his freedom, he agreed to give up to Prince Henry a number of other towns and castles which he possessed in Normandy.

From the captured city of Aumale, the two Counts of Flanders and Boulogne marched on to the attack of Neufchatel and Driencourt, both of which places were very speedily taken; but the campaign, on their part, was now brought to an end by the death of the Count of Boulogne, who was wounded in the thigh by an arrow, and died shortly after; though no two writers, that I have

* I know not whether this could be considered as an English title at that period.

met with, agree as to the place where he received the wound which terminated his existence. Some say it was before the walls of Neufchatel; some, under those of Driencourt; and some declare that, after the fall of the latter city, the two Counts undertook another siege, at which the Count of Boulogne was killed.* It is certain however that the fatal event took place on St. James's day; and it was remarked, that on the very same day in a preceding year he had sworn fealty to Henry the Second. Whether from this coincidence, or from the voice of remorse in his own heart, I do not know, but it would appear that the Count of Flanders regarded the death of his brother as an evident indication of God's displeasure, and determined to withdraw from the war between Henry and his sons; which the English monarch suffered him to do without any attempt to molest him.

During the course of the preceding events, Henry had remained at Rouen, keeping up an appearance of perfect cheerfulness and equanimity, receiving all men who sought an audience of him with com-

* Hoveden, who must have been in Normandy at the time, does not mention Neufchatel, neither does Diceto. The former says, that the Count was killed before Driencourt. Matthew of Boulogne does not seem to have been a very amiable character. Not long before his death, according to D'Oudegherst, in 1171, he sent back his wife Mary, in right of whom alone he possessed the County of Boulogne, to the convent from which he had taken her, and married Eleanor, widow of the Count of Nevers, by whom he left no children.

plaisance and good humour, employing himself with his ordinary business and recreations, and affecting to pursue his favorite sport of the chace with even more eagerness than ever. No sooner had the Count of Flanders retired to his own country, however, than the English monarch, who it would appear had been afraid to act against either of the hostile forces while they were within a few days' march of each other, roused himself like a lion waking from his sleep, and prepared to encounter the King of France, now left unsupported. Taking all the troops of Brabant that could be spared from the defence of the different fortresses, and collecting a large body of his own nobility—now tried by the test of adversity, and winnowed, as it were, from the chaff with which they had been lately mixed—he began his march for Verneuil with a numerous army of faithful, veteran and determined soldiers. Without pause or delay, he advanced till he reached the town of Conches, where he was met by deputies from Verneuil itself, giving him information of the state of that city. It was now considerably more than a month since the King of France had begun the siege; but Henry had entrusted the defence of Verneuil to two of his most determined and faithful friends, Hugh de Lacy and Hugh Beauchamp, and the resistance offered here was very different from that which the Count of Flanders had met with at Aumale. Scarcely any progress had been made by the be-

sieging army in destroying the fortifications of the town; but the strict blockade to which it had been subjected, had brought the evils of famine upon the garrison. In these circumstances, the two commanders had determined to capitulate upon certain conditions, and to surrender a part at least of the city at the end of three days, in case they were not succoured within that period, Louis giving them permission to send messengers to Henry, in order to demand speedy aid. It is probable that neither the French King nor the garrison of Verneuil imagined that Henry would attempt to relieve that city, though it was one of the most important bulwarks of his Norman frontier, consisting of several quarters, or burghs, as they were called, separate from each other, and each strongly fortified with walls, towers and moats.

The news of this capitulation reached Henry at Conches, and, having been joined by a large reinforcement, he marched on rapidly to Breteuil on the Iton; at which place the Earl of Leicester possessed a castle, apparently separate from the town. Knowing that it was unable to resist the attack of a powerful army, that nobleman fled at the King's approach; and Henry, in punishment of his treason, burned the castle to the ground. Drawing up his army in battle array, with all his gallant followers eager for combat, the English monarch then marched on prepared to attack the King of France. He was surprised, how-

ever, ere he had gone far, by the appearance of messengers from Louis, who came, in fact, for the purpose of observing the condition of the English army. Henry was already on horseback, completely armed, and at some short distance before the main body of his forces. The only thing the messengers were charged to demand was, whether Henry intended to give battle to the King of France; to which the English monarch replied, in an angry voice and with a fierce countenance, "Go! tell your king, lo! I am with him." The messengers, of whom one was the Archbishop of Sens, returned in all haste, and reported what they had seen and heard. Counsel was immediately taken in the French camp, and envoys were again sent back to Henry, to propose a conference for the restoration of peace.

Eager to terminate so painful a warfare, the King of England suffered himself to be deceived, and granted the request of Louis's messenger, that a conference might take place to settle the terms of pacification. The day on which Henry agreed to this proposal, was the last which had been granted to the garrison of Verneuil; but the terms of the capitulation were distinct, that if aid arrived within the period specified, the town was not to be surrendered; and even if it were surrendered, the King of France, the young Henry, and the principal nobles of the French court, took a solemn oath that the hostages should be returned, that all people

should remain free, and that no injury should be done, or suffered to be done, in the town. Knowing the conditions which had been made, and taking it for granted that his appearance in arms, ready to do battle with the King of France, was in reality the fulfilment of the stipulation for succouring Verneuil, Henry incautiously did not make it a condition of the one day's truce which he now granted the King of France, that Verneuil was to be considered as relieved. Louis took advantage of this oversight; the inhabitants of the town were probably not aware of Henry's presence in the neighbourhood, and believing themselves abandoned, gave up the city at the time agreed upon. Henry waited for the King of France in vain. That monarch, conscious of treacherous intentions, neither came nor sent ambassadors to the place appointed; and the news soon reached the spot where Henry's army was drawn up, that Verneuil was pillaged and in flames, the inhabitants made prisoners, and the army of France in full flight.

Indignant at this gross violation of the most sacred engagements, Henry instantly pursued the fugitive forces, slaughtered a number of the stragglers, and took the whole baggage—thus marking with signal disgrace the retreat of the army of the French.* The English monarch directed imme-

* Probably of no event in the range of history, are there more various accounts than of the events just related. I have followed principally the narration of Hoveden, though I acknowledge that

ciate measures to be taken for restoring the fortifications of Verneuil: but he now showed as much

there is an air of truth and accuracy about Diceto's account, which is very favourable to it. My only reason for preferring Hoveden is, that, from his situation in the court of Henry, there is every reason to believe that he was in Normandy at the time, if not actually with his master in the expedition to Verneuil. His account, indeed, has much the tone of a tale told by an eye-witness; but, at the same time, I cannot refrain from mentioning the particulars in which Diceto differs with him, which are of considerable importance. The most material variation is in regard to the capitulation of Verneuil, Diceto implying that the garrison, pressed by hunger, had put Louis in actual possession of the gates of the town before they applied to Henry, upon Louis and his great counsellors taking an oath to retire without doing any injury if aid arrived within three days—at least, so I understand the passage. Thus, by his account, Louis only committed one act of treachery instead of two. It will be seen above, that I have left it doubtful whether the whole town was surrendered, together with its castle, or merely the principal division or burgh. Hoveden's words would lead us to suppose that it was merely the Great Burgh, though other writers seem to say the whole city. Hoveden and Diceto, and all other authors with one solitary exception, declare the treachery of the King of France, and his ignominious retreat, and describe the pursuit by the English troops. The exception is William of Newbury, a very respectable author certainly, but one who had not the opportunities of knowing what took place in Normandy, which were possessed both by Hoveden and Diceto. Nor am I, to say the truth, inclined to place so much reliance either upon William of Newbury's dates or his statements of facts, as I am upon his general views, and the exposition of the motives upon which men acted. His painting of manners, indeed, is sometimes very good,—his anecdotes highly characteristic of the time and the people,—and the whole related in good language, with wonderfully few preju-

eager promptitude in all his proceedings, as he had before shown inactivity; and without pausing to see the town repaired, he returned rapidly to Rouen, taking as he went the castle of Dameville, and capturing a number of knights and soldiers, by whom it was garrisoned. Immediately on his arrival at Rouen, the King dispatched a considerable force of Brabançois to arrest the progress of the rebels in Brittany, preparing, at the same time, to follow in person, as soon as the necessary business of the Duchy of Normandy would suffer him to absent himself. His movements must have been made with the utmost celerity; for we find that the retreat of the French took place on the 9th of August,* after

dices or traits of a narrow mind. But he seems to me, to have striven more for such excellencies, than for great precision, either in regard to facts, or the arrangement of them. He distinctly says, that the King of England, contented with the disgraceful flight of the French, forbade his army to pursue them; neither does he mention the taking and burning of Verneuil; but in these points his authority cannot be placed in competition with that of Hoveden. On what authority, or by what mistake, Lord Lytton calls the author of the Chronicle, attributed to Brompton, a contemporary, I do not know. It is a very valuable record certainly, but one which, I believe, was not composed for a century afterwards.

* The eve of the day of St. Laurence, and the 5th ides of August. The distance from Verneuil to Rouen is sixty miles, and the distance from Rouen to Dol is one hundred and ninety-eight; so that I am inclined to believe that Henry detached the Brabançois who gained the battle of Dol, from Verneuil, without taking them to Rouen. He himself performed the journey from Rouen.

which he took Dameville, and marched to Rouen; and yet the force of Brabançois which he sent into Brittany, arrived in the neighbourhood of Dol within ten days after the retreat of the King of France.

While the events which we have described were taking place in Normandy, the Viscount of Fougères and his partisans had made great progress in the adjoining Duchy; and by stratagem or corruption, had induced the garrisons of Dol and Combour to surrender those strong towns. Some authors have supposed that it was the intelligence of such negociations being carried on between his officers and the enemy, that caused Henry to dispatch a force into that quarter so rapidly. He was, however, on all occasions, prompt to seize the cup of fortune when it was filled to the brim, though he did not, like many another man, attempt to drain it when nothing but dregs remained; and his eagerness in taking advantage of the turn of circumstances in his favour, was but in accordance with his general character; nor does it appear to me quite clear, that he was aware of the treason going on at Dol. His troops, however, on their arrival in Brittany, found that Dol and Combour had surrendered to the enemy, and that Raoul of Fougères, Asculph de St. Hiliare, together with the Earl of Chester,

to Dol with a rapidity scarcely credible; for it is certain that he set out from Rouen on Wednesday morning, and reached Dol before nine o'clock A.M. on Thursday.

William Patrick, and a number of other English barons, were marching to meet them at the head of a large force. Eager to repair their former reverses in Brittany, the Brabançois gave battle to the enemy on the 20th of August, 1173, and a total and most signal defeat of the rebels ensued. Fifteen hundred of the Bretons were left dead on the field of battle, amongst whom were many distinguished knights and gentlemen; and seventeen celebrated leaders were taken, one of whom was Asculph de St. Hiliare himself. The rest fled in confusion, and threw themselves into the castle of Dol, which was instantly invested by the Brabançois.

At the news of these events, Henry hurried from Normandy to press the siege with the greatest vigour; and travelling night and day, arrived in time to be present at the surrender, which was undoubtedly hastened by his actual presence in the besieging army. On the 26th of August, the rebels, finding it impossible to resist, yielded themselves to the will of the King; and the Viscount de Fougères, his brother William, the Earl of Chester, a number of Norman and English barons, and a still greater number of Bretons, amounting in all to near one hundred insurgent nobles, fell at once into the hands of Henry. A great quantity of plunder was taken and given up to the Brabançois, whose military reputation was not a little increased by the signal victory they had obtained.

The arms of the King were no less successful in England than they had lately proved in Normandy and Brittany, though he was not on the spot to encourage his officers and friends. Richard de Lucy, Humphrey de Bohun, and the Earl of Cornwall, had remained not only faithful, but zealous, in the service of their King; and as soon as forces could be raised, and the actual state of the rebellion ascertained, they employed the most active means to suppress the evil which had already risen to so great a head. The two principal nobles who had declared themselves for the insurgent princes, were the Earl of Chester—who had confined his efforts, as we have seen, to France, and had met with signal defeat—and Robert the Humpbacked, Earl of Leicester, whose flight from England we have already detailed. Henry had immediately punished the Earl's rebellion by seizing all his estates and castles in Normandy; but it was much more necessary to deprive him of the power and influence that he possessed in England, which was indeed so great as to be at all times dangerous to the Crown. His father had been one of Henry's most trusted and faithful servants, and had always displayed the utmost devotion to his royal master; nor do we know of any cause which the King had given, to excite feelings of enmity in the breast of that nobleman's son. His hatred seems, however, to have been of the most inveterate character, and against him one of the first blows was struck by the

indignation of the monarch. By Henry's orders, Richard de Lucy and the Earl of Cornwall proceeded at the head of their forces, to besiege the city and castle of Leicester, and sat down before the town on the 3rd of July. The citizens and the garrison determined to make a vigorous resistance, but the siege was brought to a termination much sooner than might have been expected. Provisions began to fail, a part of the town was burnt by an accidental fire, and finding that they were not competent to contend with the forces of the Grand Justiciary, the inhabitants capitulated on the 28th of the same month, upon terms much more advantageous to themselves than probably would have been granted, had not the threatening aspect of affairs in other parts of the country, shown De Lucy that it was necessary to terminate his enterprise as soon as it could be considered accomplished with honor to his master's arms. A sum was paid as a fine by the citizens of the town; and upon condition of being received in peace into some of the cities or castles of the King's domain, till the civil war should be at an end, they delivered up what remained of Leicester. The garrison of the castle obtained a truce till Michaelmas; and having thus, in some degree, bridled the rebellion in the midland counties of England, De Lucy turned his attention to the north, where a new storm was now gathering.

Scarcely had the convention been signed by the

people of Leicester, when news reached the Justiciary and his colleague in arms, that William, King of Scotland, had burst forth from his own dominions with a large force, principally composed of Galwegians, at that time the most fierce and barbarous part of the Scottish people. The first intimation of his presence in England, was accompanied by the tidings that, after devastating in the most bloody and cruel manner the whole open country of Cumberland, he had sat down before Carlisle, and was making rapid progress in the siege of that city. For that part of the country, then, Richard de Lucy immediately began his march, leaving the Earl of Cornwall to overawe the partisans of the insurgents in the neighbourhood of Leicester. But before he himself could reach Carlisle, the King of Scotland, warned of his approach, had raised the siege; and, being treacherously permitted to pass through the county of Durham, was actually ravaging Yorkshire with fire and sword. Thither then the Justiciary next led his forces; but the King of Scotland dared not trust to the steadiness of his Galwegians in presence of a regular army, and once more he retired before De Lucy, who pursuing him into Scotland, took and burnt the city of Berwick, and for some time retaliated on the unfortunate county of Lothian all the evils and miseries which the Scottish army had inflicted upon the people of Yorkshire and Cumberland.

Thus, towards the autumn of the year 1173, the arms of Henry—which at the beginning of the campaign had been so unsuccessful, as to give the brightest hopes to his adversaries—were triumphant in every part of his dominions. New attempts, indeed, were about to be made; but before any of these efforts took place, a negotiation was opened, which I must now proceed to notice.

The brilliant and rapid advantages which Henry had gained, struck the insurgents and their allies with temporary dismay, and the King of France appeared peculiarly affected by reverses, which deprived him of all prospect of terminating the war rapidly, with honor to himself and advantage to the young princes whom he had supported in rebellion against their father. His finances were, at this time, in a very disastrous state; and we find from Diceto, that he had been obliged to have recourse to unusual and burdensome means in order to bring into the field and support in activity the large army with which he had commenced the war. Pressed by these strong motives, he showed himself willing for a time to listen to proposals of peace; and the papal legate interposed to bring about an amicable adjustment of the dissensions between Henry and his sons. Some writers declare that Louis himself sought an interview with great eagerness, driven to despair by the successes of his enemy; while others imply that the first efforts were made by Henry. However that may be, a conference was

agreed upon between the two kings; and it accordingly took place on the frontiers of France and Normandy, between Gisors and Trie, on the 25th of September, 1173. The King of England was accompanied by a number of bishops, archbishops, counts and barons: and Louis was followed not only by all the principal personages of his court, but also by the three sons of the English King, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey. The proposals for peace seem to have been made by the King of England, and the establishments which he offered to his children were certainly such as they should have accepted with joy. To his eldest son he offered to give, either one half of the revenues of England with four strong places in this country, or one half of the revenues of Normandy, and all the revenues of the county of Anjou, with three strong places in Normandy, one in Anjou, one in Maine, and one in Touraine. To Richard, he proposed to resign half the revenues of Aquitaine, and four fortresses therein; and to Geoffrey he promised the whole territory of Brittany, if the consent of the Pope could be obtained for the young prince's marriage with Constance. Moreover, Henry submitted to the arbitration of the Archbishop of Tarentum and the papal legates, the offers he had made and the claims of his sons; promising to add whatever those personages should think right, to the great portions he assigned to his children, and only reserving to himself the administration of justice and the sovereignty of the whole territory.

The King of France, however, had by this time changed his views. He had received, it would seem, assurances of fresh support from his nobles; the Count of Flanders had in some degree recovered from the shock of his brother's death, and was willing to pursue the unholy war in which he had engaged; and Louis would not suffer even such liberal proposals to be accepted. The English princes seem to have yielded to his dictation without resistance, and bitterly painful must it have been for Henry to meet his children thus armed against him, and confederated with his irreconcilable enemy. Besides the pain which such a spectacle must have occasioned to the English King, he had also to encounter the insolence of one of his revolted subjects, for the Earl of Leicester had been suffered to follow the princes to the conference, and he there dared to use the most opprobrious and insulting language to his sovereign, and even to lay his hand upon his sword as if about to assault the monarch, from which it would appear he was only restrained by the spectators.

Disappointed in the hope of peace, Henry returned to the town of Gisors; but by the way some knights of the French party attacked a body of gentlemen attached to the King of England, between Gisors and St. Clair. The French, however, were defeated, and one of their principal knights was taken by the hand of William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex.

No sooner was the conference at an end, than the war was renewed in various quarters. The young King Henry, accompanied by a number of French nobles, made an unsuccessful attack upon Normandy, but was repulsed by the inhabitants of the district unaided. The Earl of Leicester, proceeding to Flanders, easily raised a large force in that county, and putting to sea without loss of time, reached the mouth of the Orwell in safety on the 29th of September. He was received with the utmost gladness by Hugh Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, who might well expect to be attacked in his castle of Framlingham, as soon as the Justiciary could return from Scotland; and joining their forces together, the two Earls made an attack upon Dunwich, then a very large and important city. The citizens, however, were not only faithful to their king but brave and skilful; and the insurgents met with unexpected resistance, and were forced to raise the siege somewhat disgracefully. They then applied themselves to besiege Hakeneth Castle, belonging to Ranulph de Broc, but that proved a more easy enterprise than the attack of Dunwich. The fortress surrendered at the end of four days; and the two Earls returned to Framlingham, where an intestine warfare, it would seem, speedily arose between the Countess of Norfolk and the Countess of Leicester, the latter of whom is described as a lady of a very virile mind.

While the animosity of the two ladies and many

other circumstances were tending to produce a separation between the Earls of Norfolk and Leicester, the news of the arrival of the Flemings, and the progress of the insurrection in Suffolk, reached the ears of Richard de Lucy, who was still engaged in ravaging the territories of the King of Scotland. Taking measures to prevent the same tidings from being reported to that monarch, the Justiciary and his colleague Humphrey de Bohun immediately concluded a truce with William, which he was very willing to grant. The English army then retired; and while De Lucy dispersed a part throughout the counties from which the soldiers had been raised, Humphrey de Bohun led the rest with rapid marches to St. Edmundsbury. His force was not numerous, but it consisted almost entirely of veteran cavalry; and having taken pains to ascertain the movements of the insurgent nobles, he prepared to attack the Earl of Leicester, whose stay at Framlingham had become, as Diceto expresses it, burdensome to Hugh Bigot, and hateful to the Countess of Norfolk. The Earl had, in consequence, received a somewhat unceremonious notice, it would seem, to relieve the territories of his friend from the presence of a body of men which the stores of Framlingham could not long support, and to betake himself to his own lands. He had heard, however, of the arrival of Humphrey de Bohun in the neighbourhood, and of the rapid movement of forces to intercept him on the road, or to attack Framlingham itself; but,

trusting in the valour of his troops and their superior numbers, he began his march towards Leicester on the 15th or 16th of October, proposing to leave St. Edmundsbury on the left.

By this time Humphrey de Bohun had been joined by the Earls of Cornwall, Gloucester, and Arundel; and as soon as they heard of the march of Leicester, they issued forth from St. Edmund's, bearing the banner of the saint in their van, and proceeded to take post on the road by which they knew the Earl must pass. Leicester's force, we are assured was still superior in number, though his army was deficient in cavalry, and he marched on without fear till at length, in the neighbourhood of Farnham, on the other side of a common between two morasses, he beheld the king's army with the banner of St. Edmund in the front. The battle immediately began, and after a severe struggle, the superiority of the royal cavalry decided the day. Leicester and his wife were taken, with a number of knights and gentlemen attached to their party, though the Countess made a desperate effort to escape on horseback. Almost all the horse were taken, and the multitude of Flemish foot which had followed the Earl to the battle, were pursued and cut down by the English cavalry in every direction with so terrible a slaughter that we are assured very few escaped alive from that bloody field.

The Earl and Countess, in strict bonds, were immediately sent over to Henry, as the best witnesses

of their own signal defeat ; and the King's army in England remained inactive during the rest of the winter, Framlingham being too strong and too well prepared to admit a hope of reducing it at so advanced a period of the year.

During this time Henry himself had not been unemployed. Brittany, it is true, was perfectly tranquil ; Normandy was secured for the time by the success of the royal arms ; and the insurrection had not made any very great progress in Aquitaine, where the Count of Toulouse remained strictly faithful to his engagements with the King of England, and maintained his cause with zeal and activity. In Maine and Touraine, however, much evil had been done by the pernicious instigations of the rebels, and in Anjou a number of the principal nobles were in arms against the King. The Count of Vendome, who adhered to the cause of Henry, had been expelled from that city by his son-in-law, Richard de Lavardin ;* and Henry's honor was engaged to restore to his faithful friend the territories of which he had been unjustly dispossessed. It was towards Anjou, in the first place, that the English monarch turned his steps, accompanied by a considerable force. His late successes, however, had so far intimidated the minds of the insurgents that very little resistance was made. Two castles belonging to revolted barons were immediately surren-

* Hoveden calls him Bucard of Lavardin, and says, that he was the son of the Count of Vendome.

dered ; and a third fortress, the castle of Champigné-le-sec, was taken with all whom it contained, comprising nearly fifty gentlemen of noble families. The revolt of Anjou was thus terminated, and Henry immediately marched from the neighbourhood of Saumur, up the course of the Loire, towards Vendome. Here also he was successful, and before Christmas he had restored the Count to his territories.*

Thus ended the campaigns of the year 1173 ; but in the course of that year an event took place in the life of Richard, Duke of Aquitaine, or as he is more generally called at this time, Count of Poitou, which, according to all the feelings and opinions of those days, formed the most important epoch in the existence of a young noble, and on it I must consequently pause.

* By most authors it is left doubtful whether Vendome surrendered without resistance, or was taken after a siege. Hoveden, however, distinctly says, “Rex Angliæ pater *vim* cepit Vendomiam.”

BOOK I I.

THE institution of chivalry or knighthood—the twin sister in fact of the feudal system—was one of the most powerful of those engines which, produced by the circumstances and necessities of the times, tend, under the guidance of Almighty Wisdom, to elevate society from the depth of barbarism to the height of civilisation. How this institution first arose, whether it sprung up at once, as some writers have supposed, or whether it gradually, and indeed slowly, assumed regular forms, claimed for itself certain privileges, and undertook the performance of certain duties, as other authors have asserted, would require much space to examine, and might here produce no satisfactory result. The rude germs of chivalry have been traced by persons whose imagination is fond of travelling in barren and very arid paths, to what they conceive the first seeds amongst the early tribes of the north; but others, amongst whom is ranked M. de Ste. Palaye,

whose authority is of the highest kind, do not admit it as an institution previous to the year of our Lord 900. Whether his judgment upon the subject be correct or not, there is to be found in the introduction to a late edition of his "Memoirs on Chivalry," so beautiful an account of the origin of knighthood, that I cannot refrain from translating it in this place, expressing, at the same time, my full persuasion that there is as much philosophical truth as eloquent simplicity in his general statements.

"Towards the middle of the tenth century," the introduction says, "some poor nobles, united by the need of lawful defence, and alarmed by the excesses brought on by the multiplicity of sovereign powers, took pity on the wretchedness and tears of the people. They grasped each other's hands, calling upon God and St. George; and, devoting themselves to the defence of the oppressed, they placed the weak under the defence of their sword. Simple in their dress, severe in their morals, humble after victory, firm and stoical in adversity, they speedily created for themselves an immense renown. Popular gratitude, in its simple and credulous joy, fed upon the marvellous narrative of their high deeds of arms, exaggerated their valour, and united in prayer the generous deliverers of the people with the powers of Heaven. So natural is it for misfortune to deify those that bring it relief.

"In those old times, as strength was a law, it

was very necessary that courage should be a virtue ; these men, to whom was afterwards given the name of knights, carried it to the very highest degree. Cowardice was punished by them as an unpardonable crime ; and surely it is such, to refuse support to the oppressed. They held a lie in horror, and branded with disgrace all perfidy and breach of faith ; nor have the most celebrated legislators of antiquity produced anything comparable to their statutes.

“ This league of warriors, retained during more than a century, all its original simplicity,—because the circumstances amidst which it was brought forth, changed but slowly ; but when a great political and religious movement announced the revolutions that were about to take place, in the human mind, then chivalry took a legal form, and a rank amongst the institutions of society.”

Such is the account given by the introduction to the *Memoirs of Ste. Palaye* ; and without entering into all the minute points of disquisition which such a subject naturally suggests, we may well receive this statement in regard to the origin of chivalry as generally correct ; and proceed to notice the changes in spirit, as well as in external forms, which that institution had undergone previous to the time at which knighthood was conferred on Richard Plantagenet, by the hand of the King of France. It has been supposed that William Rufus introduced into England what has been called knight-errantry.

The statement would have been much more correct if the writers who make this assertion had said, that the vices of himself and his court, and the disorders of his government, made all good men feel that urgent necessity for such an extraordinary institution in England, which had already produced it in other lands. It would seem certain that some enterprises did take place in the reign of Rufus, which might bear the name of knight-errantry—that is to say, that certain noble and well-disposed knights did undertake the defence of persons oppressed, in whom they had no other interest than that which arose from the generous spirit of chivalry.

It very soon happened, however, that the spirit which led men to seek out and to succour the feeble and the wronged, was lost in those qualities which had at first been mere adjuncts to the chivalrous character. The valour, which in the origin of the institution, had been subservient to the humanity; the thirst of enterprise, which at one time was prompted by the desire of doing good; the habit of wandering, which had been acquired in the search for objects of generous deliverance; all soon became the handmaids to other less noble feelings and purposes not quite so pure. Valour required honour and renown for its reward, and that renown became the object: enterprise turned her views towards ambition, avarice, and superstition; the habit of wandering was gratified in tournaments, passages of arms and distant expeditions; and all these

changes had taken place at the time when Richard was dubbed a knight by the hand of the King of France.

Still chivalry was a generous and a softening institution ; and the ceremonies which were observed when it was bestowed, the exhortations addressed to the young knight, and the oaths that he was required to take, were all so many bonds and shackles upon the vehemence of human passions, and upon the vices of a barbarous age. The ceremony was a solemn, as well as a joyous one ; it required preparation, and was accompanied with various religious rites in various countries. According to the customs of some lands, indeed, the preparations were severe ; long fasts, nights passed in prayer, penances, absolution and the sacrament, as well as the watching of the knightly arms, were almost always demanded of the young aspirant to chivalry. Many of these acts were undoubtedly symbolical ; the watching of arms has been supposed to typify christian wakefulness ; and the bath, which was also often prescribed, was intended to represent the purifying of the mind and heart.

When all these preparations had been gone through, the ceremony itself took place. The time chosen was generally during some great festival, or upon some extraordinary occasion, such as an approaching battle, some great enterprise, or some victory gained. This, however, was not always the case ; and a squire who was worthy of knighthood,

could almost always obtain it, either from the lord to whom he had attached himself, or from some other knight, if his lord refused to confer that honour upon him. It was necessary, indeed, for him to prove that his claim was justified; and in order not to violate that modesty which was inculcated as one of the first chivalrous duties, few persons ever demanded to be dubbed without being perfectly capable of proving their right to that distinction. On the contrary, indeed, it often happened that gentlemen who had distinguished themselves by high feats of arms more than once declined the honour when offered, alleging their own unworthiness. Let us suppose, however, the young aspirant willing and eager to buckle on his knightly spurs; let us suppose that he has prepared himself, by fasting, watching, prayer, confession, penance, absolution and the sacrament; let us suppose that he has listened to the exhortations from the pulpit, which were generally addressed to persons about to be received into the order of knighthood; and let us proceed at once to the ceremony itself. The day being come, which was generally, as we have said, on some occasion when the city was full of the nobles of the land; all the friends and relations of the candidate went to seek the squire about to be knighted, and brought him in procession to the church. Very often, if his rank was high, almost all the noble knights and gentlemen of the city, with the bishop himself, each covered in the vest-

ments of his order, the knights in their coats of arms, the bishop in his stole, conducted the aspirant to the cathedral, where the ceremony was to be performed; and then, all taking their places, high mass was celebrated by the prelate. At the conclusion of the service, the novice, with his sword suspended from his neck, approached the high altar, and either delivering the sword to the bishop, or placing it on the altar, waited, in a humble attitude, while the prelate solemnly consecrated the weapon. He then listened to the bishop's exhortation in regard to the duties of the high station to which he was about to be elevated, and the difficulty of fulfilling them worthily.

To show what the nature of this exhortation was, it may be as well to describe exactly the ceremony, as it was performed in favour of William of Hainault, Count of Ostrevant, in regard to which we possess more complete records than respecting any other occasion of the kind. The father of the young nobleman, the famous William Count of Hainault, led his son to the cathedral of Valenciennes, accompanied by two English bishops and the Earl of Huntingdon, sent by the King of England to do him honour, by four princes of the country, called the Peers of Hainault, and by a number of other noblemen and clergymen, all clad in their canonical vestments and coats of arms. The day chosen was All Saints'-day, and the procession was received at the door of the great Church

of St. John, by the Bishop of Cambray, supported by two bishops and four mitred abbots, all in their pontifical robes, and surrounded by a multitude of priests, canons, and monks. After the mass, which was celebrated by the Bishop of Cambray, the famous John of Hainault took his nephew by the hand, and led him to the Bishop, beseeching him to accomplish the wishes of the young prince, who demanded to be made a knight. The Bishop then turned to the Count, and said, "He who wishes to be a knight must have great qualities; he must be of noble birth,* bountiful in giving, high in courage, strong in danger, secret in council, patient in difficulties, powerful against his enemies, prudent in all his deeds. He must also swear to keep the following rules. To undertake nothing without having heard mass fasting: to spare neither his blood nor his life for the catholic faith, and for the defence of the church; to give aid to all widows and orphans; to undertake no war without a legitimate cause; to favour no injustice, but to protect the innocent and oppressed; to be humble in all things; to defend the property of his people; to deny no right to his sovereign, and to live irreproachably before God and man. If you will, Oh William Count of Ostrevant, keep these rules, you will acquire great honour in this world, and in the end life eternal."

Having thus spoken, the Bishop took the young Count's joined hands in his, and placing them on a

* This point was by no means indispensable.

missal, asked, "Will you receive the order of knighthood in the name of the Lord God, and observe these rules?" The young Count having replied, that he would, the Bishop gave him in writing the form of the oath he was to take, which, without rising from his knees, he proceeded to read aloud in the following terms: "I, William of Hainault, Count of Ostrevant, and vassal of the Holy Roman Empire, promise upon oath, in presence of my Lords, Peter Bishop of Cambray, and the illustrious Prince William Count of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, Lord of Friesland, my lord and father, and of the noble peers of Hainault and Valenciennes, to keep all the laws of chivalry, by my hands placed on these Holy Evangelists."

The Bishop then told him, that he gave him the order in remission of his sins; upon which, his father advanced and struck him with his sword, saying, "I dub thee knight, for the honor and in the name, of God Almighty, and I receive you into our order of chivalry. Remember to keep all the ordinances of knighthood!" Immediately the two heralds of Hainault and Valenciennes bade the trumpets sound, and called aloud three times, "Long live William of Hainault, Count of Ostrevant!" After which, the procession again formed, and moved back to the palace, where a splendid banquet was served up, and the day concluded with a tournament.

Such was the ceremony of conferring knighthood,

when all circumstances permitted pageantry and splendour to accompany the solemn act: but it took place upon many other occasions when such could not be the case; and it may be easily conceived, that previous to, or immediately after, a great battle, the proceedings were very different, and perhaps less splendid, but not less solemn. Nor were the duties less strictly pointed out and enjoined on these occasions than on others. Of this we have a very striking instance, in the account given of the reception of the young Prince Joam of Portugal into the order of chivalry, immediately after the storming of the Moorish fortress of Arsilla, by his father, Alphonso V. In a former campaign the King of Portugal had met with most severe and terrible reverses, and the honor of his arms had been, for the time, sadly diminished; but after a pause of several years, he returned to Africa with a considerable army, and attacked the town of Arsilla, situated on the shores of the Atlantic. The defence was resolute; but the Portuguese monarch was determined to recover his renown; and the city being taken by storm, no quarter was given. The desperate resistance of the garrison, however, had caused a number of the most gallant Portuguese knights to fall in the assault; and amongst these was the Count of Marialva, whose body was carried into the chief mosque, and a crucifix placed upon it. Such was the moment, and such was the scene, in which Alphonso chose to bestow knighthood on his

son, who had greatly distinguished himself in the attack. After praying for some time by the side of the dead body, he commanded the prince to kneel down by it also; and drawing his sword, he announced to him his intention of conferring on him the order of chivalry, and arming him with his own hand. "But in the first place, my son," he said, "know that chivalry consists in an alliance between power and virtue, for the purpose of establishing peace among men, whenever ambition, avarice, or tyranny, trouble states, or injure individuals; for knights are bound to employ their swords to destroy tyrants, and to raise good men in their place. They are likewise obliged to be faithful to their sovereign, to obey their leaders in war, and to give them good counsel. It is also the duty of a knight to be frank and liberal, and to look on nothing as his own, except his horse and arms, which he is bound to keep for the sake of acquiring honor, in the defence of his religion, his country, and the oppressed. As the priesthood was instituted for divine service, so was knighthood for the maintenance of religion and justice. A knight ought to be the husband of widows, the father of orphans, the protector of the poor, and the prop of those who have no other support. Those who do not thus act, are unworthy of the name of knight. These, my son, are the obligations which the order of chivalry will impose upon you; are you desirous of obtaining it on such terms?"

The Prince replied in the affirmative; the King exacted from him a promise to perform all that the customs of the order required, and then struck him three times with his sword on the helmet, saying, "I dub you knight, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and the Holy Ghost;" after which, he pointed to the corpse of Marialva, saying, "God make you as good a knight as this, whose body you see pierced in several places for the service of God and his sovereign!"*

Many variations took place in the different parts of the ceremonial, according to the circumstances of the parties. The words of the adjuration varied in various countries, in reference to the patron saint of each; but the name of St. George was called upon by almost all nations. Thus we find, that the common expression used in France, was, "In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George, I dub thee knight—be loyal, bold, and true."

In general, if the ceremony was performed in the time of peace, the arms were buckled on by the hands of the persons present, and frequently

* I have abridged this account a good deal. Mariana does not mention the knighthood, but he confirms the account of the King's observation on the body of Marialva, saying, "Ca murió mucha gente noble, en particular los condes, el de Montesanto llamado don Alvaro de Castro, y el de Marialva por nombre don Juan Coutiño cuyo cuerpo muerto como el Rey le viese, vuelto á su hijo: 'Oxalá (dixo) Dios te haga tal y tan grande soldado.'"

by the ladies of the court in which it took place, commencing, usually, with the spurs of gold, which custom gave occasion of the common expression, when any young aspirant to chivalry had particularly distinguished himself, that he had won his spurs. It must be remarked, also, that according to the rules of that day, the golden spurs were the first ornaments of that precious metal which a young nobleman was permitted to wear; the use of gold in their garments being generally prohibited to all, however high their rank, who had not received the order of knighthood.

I have met with no account of the particular ceremonies observed, when the King of France received Richard, afterwards King of England, into the order of chivalry. They were probably, however, accompanied by all the pageantry and splendour which the court of France could display on such an occasion; but the very fact of his son receiving knighthood from the hands of Louis, must have been a very great mortification to Henry the Second. It was even in some degree a disadvantage, also, to that monarch; for between the young knight and the person who had dubbed him, was created, by the very fact, a sort of chivalrous affinity which could never be shaken off. The person who had dubbed the other, was called his godfather, and was looked upon in some degree as his father in arms; so that, although inferior persons were proud and happy to see their sons receive the order of chivalry from high nobles

or distinguished knights, sovereign princes in general conferred the honor themselves on their own children, lest it should be bestowed, as in the case of Richard, by an enemy.

It became a point of honor with every young knight, as soon after receiving the order as possible, to perform some great feat of arms, or enter upon some perilous enterprise, with a view to do honor to the new rank which he had assumed. The unhappy circumstances in which Richard had been led to place himself, of course rendered his first enterprise discreditable to his feelings and his character, and, as it ultimately proved, in no degree honorable to his military name. As soon as the season of the year permitted, he attempted, with a very inferior force, to recover from his father's hands the whole of the county of Poitou ; but before I proceed to notice the result of this enterprise, I must give some account of the events which took place during the winter, and show the progress of the war in other places.

The campaign of 1173 had terminated, as we have shown, in favor of Henry, at all points of his vast dominions. The Scotch had retired discomfited,—one of the principal rebels had been signally defeated and taken prisoner, though supported by a foreign army,—the King of France and the insurgent Princes had been forced to retire with disgrace,—the rebels of Brittany had suffered a tremendous chastisement,—and Anjou had been

forced to submit, even to its most remote dependencies. Such successes on the one part, and reverses on the other, were well calculated to produce a disposition towards peace in the bosoms of the insurgents and their supporters. But the young Princes themselves were at the age of exertion, hope, and expectation; and in regard to their allies, the vanity of a nation greedy of military glory had been deeply hurt, and vanity, we all know, is the most pugnacious and indomptible of all human qualities. The Count of Flanders could not forget the promise of the county of Kent; and, of the English rebels, some were hopeless of pardon if they submitted, and some were in expectation of gaining great advantages by protracting the war. The King of Scotland, by nature of a blood-thirsty and restless disposition, looked eagerly for an opportunity of attacking a more prosperous land than his own, should the forces of his neighbour be divided; and thus, instead of commencing negotiations for peace, the whole attention of the insurgents and confederates was turned to the means of renewing the war in such a manner, as to overwhelm Henry by their over-powering numbers. As we have shown, the finances of the King of France had been severely strained, in order to carry on the very first campaign against the English monarch; nor did the presence of so many of the insurgents at his court tend to diminish his expenses, especially when he undertook to confer knighthood upon Richard,

which was in such cases one of the most expensive ceremonies of those times. Some repose was therefore absolutely necessary to him; and in the course of the winter he negotiated a truce with the King of England, for himself and his allies, till after the festival of Easter. The truce between England and Scotland was also extended to the same time; and Henry, it is to be remarked, on all occasions most eagerly listened to every proposal of a pacific nature.

During the winter, however, and while the truce lasted in the spring, the confederates used every exertion to recruit their forces, to obtain fresh supplies, and to acquire new partisans. In all these respects they were successful to an extraordinary degree. A large army was collected in France and Flanders,—a formidable force was soon ready to take the field under the King of Scotland,—and materials were prepared for enterprises of much greater length and importance than the unfortunate siege of Verneuil. In gaining partisans, the insurgents were but too successful. Emissaries were sent over into England by the younger Henry, whose instigations, bribes, promises and threats,* we are assured, shook the faith

* The words of William of Newbury are very decided upon this point. He says, “Nec cessabat eo tempore Rex junior optimates Anglorum, qui patri adhærere videbantur, per clandestinas literas vel promissionibus allicere, vel comminationibus pulsare: ut eos ad suas quocunque modo partes traduceret. Quamobrem

of almost every nobleman in England. This statement is undoubtedly exaggerated; but, nevertheless, we know that a very great multitude of gentlemen, whose honor had previously seemed above suspicion, were actually gained to the party of the rebels, and that a vast number more were suspected, with or without cause. The situation of the Justiciary and those who remained attached to the King, thus became very painful, not knowing where to look for aid with any degree of confidence, and not daring to rely even upon those who promised them help. Among those who were most strongly suspected of having been seduced to join the party of the younger Henry, were three great noblemen of the western and midland counties—the Earls of Clare and Gloucester, and Robert Ferrars, Earl of Nottingham. The two former, if they were really gained by the young King, were prudent enough to conceal their treason and wait in order to be better assured of his power to protect them. They were consequently never actively compromised in the rebellion. The Earl of Nottingham, however, did not long leave his treachery doubtful, and we shall soon find him in arms against his sovereign.

By certain movements of the King of England which followed early in the spring, we are led

tunc in Anglia pauci admodum nobiles fuisse traduntur, qui non circa regem vacillant, ab eo pro tempore defecturi, nisi maturus eorum fuisset meditationibus obviatum."

to believe that in the provinces possessed by him in France, the instigations of the insurgent Princes were likewise very successful; so that the aspect of Henry's affairs at Easter, 1174, was as unfavorable as it is possible to conceive, while the preparations of the confederates, though not actually complete, were in a state of great forwardness, and their plans were laid out with skill and forethought, for turning to the best account all the advantages of their situation. Those plans were directed towards a fourfold attack upon Henry's territories. The young King Henry, in conjunction with the Count of Flanders, who had collected an immense force on his coast and had sworn to invade the kingdom of England, was to cross the sea and put himself at the head of the insurgents in this island; Louis, at the same time, was to attack Normandy with overpowering numbers; the King of Scotland was to pour his fierce Galwegians into the north; and Richard, raising the standard of rebellion in Poitou, was to shake his father's authority, and divide his forces by a war in that county and in Aquitaine. Notwithstanding the menacing aspect of the times, it does not appear that Henry increased the number of his mercenary troops, and it is probable that he did not fully know or appreciate the extent of the preparations against him.

In England, previous to the recommencement of the war on the continent, various movements had taken place affecting the condition of the rebels in

this country, in regard to which movements very great obscurity exists. Either before or shortly after Christmas, a large body of Flemings was sent over to the assistance of Hugh Bigot, Earl of Norfolk; and on the other part, considerable forces were collected from all quarters in the neighbourhood of Colchester, St. Edmundsbury, and Ipswich, for the purpose of reducing Framlingham, and the various castles into which the Earl of Norfolk had received the enemy. Who commanded the royal forces we do not know, nor are we aware of where Richard de Lucy was at this period; but we find that a considerable body of the Flemings were permitted to capitulate and retire through England in safety to their own country, ships being provided for them at Dover, for the purpose of conveying them across the Channel. A suspicion of treachery existed at the time, and it was rumoured that a sum of money had been given by the Flemings for permission to depart; but many causes might combine to induce the three faithful servants of the King, Richard de Lucy, Humphrey de Bohun, and Reginald Earl of Cornwall, to suffer the Flemings to retreat quietly and make a bridge for their flying enemy. The foreign soldiers who thus retired from England, amounted to no less than fourteen thousand men; and that the forces of the Earl of Norfolk, without including the Flemings, were very considerable, is clearly proved; so that we may well suppose he

had at his command nearly twenty thousand men. At no great distance, Anketille de Mallore, still holding the castle of Leicester for the insurgents, was strong enough to set the royal forces at defiance, and overawe the whole neighbouring country. The Earl of Derby and Nottingham was ready to join his forces to those of Mallore and the Earl of Norfolk; and the faith and loyalty of almost every nobleman in the realm, as well as the steadiness of a great part of the royal troops, might reasonably be doubted by the Justiciary. His courage and his conduct were proved by his whole life; his faith and attachment to Henry never varied for a moment in any circumstances; and we may very well suppose, that de Lucy and other faithful friends of the King, after mature deliberation, judged it better to allow the Flemings to return to their own country, rather than drive them and the Earl of Norfolk to despair by cutting off their supplies, and thus force upon them an attempt to join the rebels of the midland and western counties. This will appear the more probable when we recollect, that the Earls of Gloucester and Clare, whose forces had formerly swelled those of Humphrey de Bohun, and enabled him to gain the victory of the Earl of Leicester, were now so strongly suspected of an intention to join the rebels, that it was with great difficulty they afterwards made their peace with the King. From all these considerations, it does

not appear to me at all doubtful that the King's friends themselves consented to the Flemings' departure, and even, perhaps, received a sum of money for Henry's use, though their conduct was not understood or appreciated by the good clergyman who records it.*

* Lord Lyttleton, not finding the account of Diceto corroborated altogether by similar statements in the works of other writers, and not appearing to have perceived the very reasonable motives upon which the King's officers might have acted, gets over the difficulty by disbelieving the whole account.

I cannot, however, admit this course of proceeding to be justifiable. Diceto is one of our most accurate and precise historians. There is a candour and openness in his statements, even upon those subjects where unprejudiced opinions were least likely to be found in a man of his class, which speak strongly in favour of his sincerity, and even of his powers of observation. He was in London at the time these events occurred, filling a high station in the church, and with every opportunity of knowing the absolute facts. He might judge wrongly of motives, and his reasoning might be incorrect, as indeed I have not the slightest doubt that it was, in regard to the motives of the King's friends. But that the Dean of St. Paul's, professedly keeping a watchful eye over all the events of the day, and noting down those events for the purposes of history, should not know whether a body of fourteen thousand Flemings had or had not landed in Suffolk,—should not know that the King's troops, having collected around them, had entered into a composition with them and suffered them to depart in peace on payment of a sum of money—should not know that they marched through Essex and Kent to Dover, watched by the royal forces, and there embarked for Flanders—I must contend is well nigh, if not altogether impossible. We hear of large bodies of Flemings arriving from time to time in different parts of the country, from other contemporaries; and

It was agreed that the Flemings should evacuate England, before the end of the Octaves of Pentecost, and the wisdom of the conduct pursued by the King's generals was soon very evident; for ere that period arrived, the King of Scotland was once more in arms and marching with numerous forces, and wild fury, into England. His first attempt was upon the city of Carlisle, where he left a part of his army to carry on the siege, and proceeded in person to ravage Northumberland and Cumberland. After devastating the open country for some time, he returned to the attack of the city, and concluded a truce with the garrison upon the condition that Carlisle should be surrendered to him if not relieved by Michaelmas. He then, once more, began his march through the unfortunate provinces of the north, took Liddel Wark, Appleby, and several other castles of importance, and dispatched his brother David Earl of Huntingdon to aid the garrison of the castle of Leicester, and sustain the fire of rebellion in the midland counties. His next effort was against the castle of Prudhoe, which offered a more vigorous resistance than any he had yet met with; and while he was pursuing the unsuccessful siege of that place, he received news from the south which caused him to retreat precipitately

although Diceto stands alone in recording the particulars of this transaction, yet as no contemporary author and no known event can be found opposed to his statement, his authority may be perfectly sufficient to establish the fact as beyond doubt.

upon Alnwick, in order to secure a more easy communication with his own land. There, however, in the immediate neighbourhood of his resources, he seems to have felt himself in perfect safety; and dividing his forces into three bodies, while he himself besieged Alnwick with one division, he dispatched the others to ravage the adjacent districts, which was done with such barbarous cruelty as to excite wonder and horror, even in that age of fierce men and violent actions. Neither sex, rank, age, or profession was spared; and unborn babes were torn from the bleeding body of the mother, and tossed upon the spears of the inhuman barbarians who came forth upon this errand of destruction. The whole land howled under the scourge; but it was not long to be wielded, and the day of retribution was at hand.

Before the brother of the King of Scotland could reach Leicester, Richard de Lucy—having been freed by the capitulation we have mentioned from the tremendous body of Flemings, which might have attacked his rear had he, without such a convention, turned his arms against the rebels of the midland counties—had burned the town of Leicester to the ground; and, holding out to the Earl of Northampton the prospect of obtaining at once the Earldom of Huntingdon, on which that Baron had a legal claim actually before the King's court, he entered the county so called, supported by the Earl, and laid siege to the chief town on the

twenty-third of June. Scarcely, however, had he left Leicestershire, when the rebellion became more formidable in that part of the country, than it had ever before appeared. Robert Ferrars, Earl of Derby and Nottingham, openly took arms on the part of the rebels. Encouraged by his support, Anketille de Mallore issued forth from the castle of Leicester, and gave battle to a body of the citizens of Northampton, whom he totally defeated. Then pursuing his advantage, he joined his forces to those of the Earl of Derby, attacked and took the town of Nottingham, set fire to the houses, pillaged the place completely, and carried off the inhabitants as prisoners. The west of England was now also infected by the same spirit of rebellion; and had the Earls of Gloucester and Clare at this moment joined with the Earl of Derby, whose estates extended into Staffordshire and to the very borders of Wales, while the Scotch King's brother David advanced to their support, and the Earl of Norfolk kept the coast open to the Flemings, Henry the Second could scarcely have preserved the crown, which his son Henry, only waiting for a favourable wind on the coast of Flanders, was prepared to snatch from his head.

The few, but faithful, friends of the monarch, however, made head on all sides against the rebels. The troops in garrison at Huntingdon, on the approach of Richard de Lucy, burnt the city to the ground and retired into the castle; and the Justiciary,

building a fortress in haste to restrain their further efforts and cut off their supplies, left the Earl of Nottingham in command, and turned his immediate attention to the west. Not having sufficient forces to undertake any very great enterprise at the moment, he applied to one whose good will the King of England had lately cultivated, and found a zealous and active friend where Henry had previously met with a determined and pertinacious enemy. Rees ap Gryffyth Prince of South Wales immediately answered to the call of Richard de Lucy, marched into Staffordshire at the head of a large body of his native troops, and laid siege to Tutbury on the Dove, the principal fortress of the Earl of Derby.

Another gallant warrior also started up in defence of the King, where probably such military skill and valour were not expected. This was in the case of Geoffrey Bishop-elect of Lincoln, Henry's natural son by the beautiful Rosamond Clifford, known in story and in song as *The Fair Rosamond*. The young nobleman had neither been consecrated nor taken orders, though he was destined for the church, and though, according to an evil custom of those days, he had been elected to the bishoprick of Lincoln and permitted, by a papal dispensation, to hold the see and receive the revenues till such time as he could be consecrated. He had not yet completed his twenty-first year; but he had already rendered himself popular in his diocese by various acts, and had shown his duty

to his father during the preceding year, by endeavouring to raise money in the King's behalf, without however appearing in arms. Finding that the contribution he required was murmured at, though it had been granted as a voluntary act, he restored the whole sum without any deduction; and shortly after, hearing that the neighbourhood of the city of Lincoln was ravaged by the troops of one of the rebels, named Roger de Mowbray, he cast off his clerical character, armed himself as a knight, called his vassals to his standard, and marched to attack the castle of Kinairdsferie, in the isle of Axholm, which belonged to that insurgent leader. As he went he was joined by a number of volunteers, and by his sudden assault the garrison of the castle was surprised, the place taken and levelled with the ground.

Having accomplished this feat, and thus freed the people of Lincoln from annoyance, he dismissed his troops, and prepared to resume an ecclesiastical mode of life; but the representations of the famous Ranulph de Glanville, who was then, or shortly afterwards became, sheriff of Yorkshire,* induced him again to try the affections of the people of Lincoln, and to call them to arms for the

* Lord Lyttleton says that he was then sheriff of Yorkshire; but the words of Hoveden imply that such was not the case, unless there were two sheriffs for that county. For in the same sentence in which he mentions Ranulph de Glanville, he speaks of Robert de Stuteville as sheriff of Yorkshire.

defence of the country. Yorkshire was then threatened by the forces of the King of Scotland, united with those of Roger de Mowbray, who held two strong fortresses called Malesart and Thirsk, from which his troops daily issued forth to ravage that county. Geoffrey was very well disposed once more to draw the sword against his father's enemies; and his appeal to a population which loved and respected him was again eminently successful. A very considerable force was collected in a short time; and, marching into Yorkshire, Geoffrey joined his forces to those which had been raised by the Archbishop of York and other barons of the county, and at once attacked and took the castle of Malesart. A number of knights and gentlemen attached to the rebel cause were taken at Malesart; and Roger de Mowbray, flying before his victorious adversary, carried the news of his own disasters, and of the presence of a large army in Yorkshire, to the camp of the King of Scotland, who was at that time, as I have shown, besieging the castle of Prudhoe. This, it appears, was the information which caused him to raise the siege, and march to Alnwick, in order to wait for the arrival of the younger Henry with the vast army of Flemings which had been collected in the neighbourhood of Gravelines, and which was daily expected in England.

The prospect of the young King's coming might well fill the King of Scotland with the most san-

guine hopes of permanent success, and the Justiciary of England with apprehensions of the most serious kind. At this period the castle of Tutbury still held out boldly against the efforts of Rees ap Gryffyth; Hugh Bigot had received a fresh reinforcement of Flemings, and had pillaged and burnt the important city of Norwich; the Earl of Derby was still in arms in the midland counties, and the Castle of Huntingdon had not yet surrendered. Considering all these circumstances, a council was held by the most faithful friends of Henry II. and it was determined to send over to him Robert Bishop-elect of Winchester, one of his oldest and most faithful servants, charged to represent to the monarch the absolute necessity of his immediate return to England, if he wished to preserve the crown of that country. The Bishop set out without a moment's delay; the wind was strong and favourable for his voyage to France; and reaching that country with great rapidity he found Henry at the town of Bonneville, on the very extreme of Normandy, holding a council with his barons for the defence of that part of his territories. Normandy was now daily threatened by the immense army which the King of France had been collecting during the whole of Easter on the frontiers; and nothing seems to have delayed the intended movements of the French, but the firm aspect of the Norman barons, and the preparations made by the King of England. Henry,

however, had not been by any means inactive during the spring; for leaving all those nobles whom he could best trust to defend his Norman territories, he had hastened to quell some insurrectionary movements in the south. He entered Maine on the last day of April, and his presence proved quite sufficient to overthrow all the schemes of the disaffected. The same was the case in Anjou, where the people and the nobles flocked to him from all quarters, and submitted to him readily. But a more difficult task lay before him in Poitou. His son Richard was already in that province; and although it would appear that he was but feebly supported by the King of France, the military population of Poitou and Aquitaine had given the young prince every encouragement and support. From the terms used by the historian, it would appear that Saintonge was not so well disposed towards Richard as the neighbouring country; but to ensure the submission of that district, a body of his troops took possession of the strong and important town of Saintes; * and not contented with

* The words of Diceto, which do not at all bear the interpretation given to them by Lord Lyttleton, namely, "some of the rebels," leave not a doubt upon my mind, that Richard was at this time in the south of France, where he is proved to have been a very short time afterwards. Diceto calls the persons who took possession of Saintes, "*militiam filii sui Ricardi*,"—the forces of his son Richard, not "some of the rebels." The resistance made by these forces seems to have been very great; and it is clear that, without the excessive rapidity of his movements,

two towers and the castle, which were already strongly fortified, they seized upon the cathedral, and converted it into a fortress. All the preparations of the insurgents however were not completed, when the King, hearing of what had taken place, hastened across Poitou, with that almost incredible rapidity which characterised all his movements; and attacking the strong towers and fortified cathedral of Sainctes, he reduced them one by one, taking in the whole about sixty knights and four hundred archers. Having completed this enterprise, he left six of the most faithful nobles of Aquitaine to govern the provinces in his name, and taking measures for the security of Anjou and Maine, hurried back to Normandy, in order to oppose the King of France wherever that prince might attack his territories.

It was on his return from Sainctes that he was met by the Bishop-elect of Winchester, who communicated to him the terrible state of affairs in England. Henry had not been ignorant of the difficulties that surrounded his friends in this island, nor of the preparations made by his son and the Count of Flanders for invading his British dominions. He had felt the necessity of his presence in this country long before, and had prepared a large fleet and considerable forces, in order to pass the sea as soon as the state of his continental

Henry could not have captured Sainctes before the great blow of the war was struck in Normandy.

territories permitted him to leave them without very great danger. The representations of the Bishop of Winchester, and the knowledge that his son was only waiting for a fair wind, now decided the King's conduct at once, though perhaps he had already erred in judgment in not returning to his kingdom at an earlier period. He now however hastened to Barfleur, where his fleet had been collected; and taking with him the two Queens, Eleanor and Margaret, the Earls of Leicester and Chester, and several noblemen, all more or less in a state of captivity, he embarked for England with a large force of Brabançois, on the 8th of July. The wind was at first directly contrary, and blowing fiercely; but it changed in a moment, and became fair for his voyage to England, though still blowing furiously, when, raising his eyes to heaven, he prayed that if his return was for the good of his people, God would give him a prosperous voyage, but if not, that he might never reach the shores of his kingdom.* We find from Hoveden, that the attendants of the monarch attributed the change of the wind to a direct exercise

* This appears to me to be a correct interpretation of the various accounts given of this celebrated prayer of Henry the Second, though it is but right to say, that Lord Lyttleton has read his authorities otherwise, and makes Henry pronounce it in the midst of a storm at sea. The wind is certainly represented as blowing violently, and the waves high; but the words seem to me, to have been spoken on the occasion of the sudden change of wind from foul to fair.

of divine power in his favor; and certainly his prayer was well calculated to impress the minds of those who heard him, with a conviction of the integrity of his purposes and the justice of his cause. His voyage was prosperous and rapid, and he arrived at Southampton in the evening of the same day.

The speed with which he accomplished his voyage to England, secured to him one of the greatest advantages which could be gained; for the Count of Flanders and the younger Henry had only been detained by contrary winds, and were looking anxiously for an opportunity of embarking, in the hope of reaching England while the royal rights were yet undefended by any one of sufficient authority to overawe the wavering and disaffected. Henry, however, did not employ to the best effect the advantage he had gained; but, instead of putting himself at the head of his troops, unsheathing his sword against the rebels, and endeavouring to crush insurrection before the formidable force collected on the Flemish coast could appear in the field against him, he stripped his feet for a pilgrimage to the shrine of the martyr of Canterbury, and caused himself to be publicly scourged at the tomb of Thomas à Becket. It is needless here to enter into the particulars of the degrading penance which Henry now voluntarily performed, nor can I consider at large the motives which could induce him to expose himself in such an extraor-

dinary situation. Some have believed that, moved by remorse and real devotion, the monarch sought to expiate the share that he had taken in Becket's death, by this humiliation at his tomb. Others have thought that he was actuated solely by political views, and that he imagined the tide of popular feeling would turn in his favor, as soon as he had offered full atonement to the spirit of the departed saint.

Admitting to the fullest extent Henry's tendency to superstition, it is scarcely possible to suppose that he could believe the proud and treacherous man, with whom he had struggled for so many years, was capable of performing miracles after his death; nor can we well suppose that he was weak enough to imagine that his people would reverence him the more for such unseemly humiliation at the tomb of one, for whose acts and conduct he had never ceased to show the most marked reprobation. We can very well conceive, however, that Henry, conscious of having uttered words which prompted the assassination of the prelate, and knowing that in his inmost heart his feelings had taken part with the murderers, even though he tried to stay them when it was too late, should now feel almost as much remorse as if his own hand had struck the blow, and that he should yield his mind entirely to the superstitious belief, that penances enjoined by his confessor could clear away his guilt; although he neither believed that the

haughty and grasping Archbishop could fall by an easy transition into the odour of sanctity, or that miracles could be performed by the dead body of a man, whose whole life had been passed either in worldly pleasures or ambitious contentions. Under this view of the case, Henry certainly displayed weakness enough, without attributing to him a prostration of mind which could only stamp a fool ; or duplicity of conduct, which could alone characterise a knave. After having endured the scourging of monks and bishops, and passed the night on the pavement of Canterbury cathedral in prayers and penances, Henry rose on the morning of the Sunday with apparent confidence in the efficacy of the atonement he had made, and proceeded to London ; where, whatever might be the condition of his mind, his body, notwithstanding its great strength, yielded to the combination of stripes, fasting, watching and fatigue ; and the very moment he should have been commanding his armies in the field, he was deprived by illness of his usual activity.

Such was the state of the monarch, and such the bad aspect of his affairs, when suddenly, in the midst of the night, the porter of the royal palace was awakened by a loud knocking at the gates, and having been prevailed upon with great difficulty to open them, he found a young courier on a tired and foaming horse, demanding instant admission to the King. The monarch's chamberlains being

roused, all the information they could obtain from the importunate messenger was, that he bore good news, and must instantly see the King. He prevailed upon them at length to lead him to Henry's chamber, where he boldly approached his bed, and woke him from his sleep.

"Who are you?" demanded the King, in astonishment.

"I am the page," replied the boy, "of your faithful Ranulph de Glanville, by whom I am sent to your highness, to bear you good news."

"Goes it all well with our Ranulph?" demanded the King.

"Quite well," replied the boy; "and lo! he holds your enemy the King of Scotland in chains, at Richmond."

The King was as one thunder-struck;* but the boy brought with him letters, which showed him the following facts.

Enraged beyond endurance at the excesses committed by the King of Scotland, and knowing by reports received from all quarters, that he had divided his army, and retained with him but a small force at the siege of Alnwick, the noblemen of Yorkshire determined to attack him, and, if

* I, like other authors, have copied this statement almost literally from the graphic account of William of Newbury. The facts, however, are fully confirmed by other writers, though they do not present to our eyes the same picture of the first intimation received by Henry of this great success.

possible, to drive him beyond the border. As nothing could be hoped from any other course of action but a sudden assault, Robert de Stuteville, Ranulph de Glanville, Bernard de Baliol, and William de Vesci, who were the leaders of the enterprise, determined to employ no foot soldiers, but began their march at the head of a considerable body of cavalry, comprising, we are told, four hundred knights. As they approached nearer to Alnwick, however, doubts began to take possession of the chiefs, on finding that the King of Scotland had more than eight thousand* men-at-arms with him; but upon further consultation it was agreed to proceed, especially as it was evident, from the intelligence they received, that the enemy had no expectation of an approaching attack.

They accordingly set out from Newcastle very early in the morning of Saturday, the 13th of July,† and proceeded with such speed, notwith-

* In some copies of William of Newbury the number is stated differently, the Scotch army being there made to amount to eighty thousand. This is indeed the case in the best edition by Hearne, in 1719. I have chosen the lowest number, because it seems to me scarcely possible that eighty thousand men should have remained with the King of Scotland at Alnwick, when we find from other authors, that two-thirds of his army had been detached to ravage the country in different directions.

† The date of Henry's arrival in England, as given in the printed copies of Diceto, must be incorrect, though probably not by his own fault, but by that either of the transcriber or the printer; for it is by his own words that we are able to rectify the

standing the weight of their armour, that they came within a short distance of Alnwick at the end of five hours. A mist, however, had in the mean

mistake, He says, that the Bishop of Winchester found Henry at Bonneville, in Normandy, on the festival of St. John; and yet he is made to say, a little further onward, that the King set out for England on the 8th ides of June, or the 6th of that month. Now the festival of St. John is on the 24th of June, showing that the word Junii should have been written Julii, as it stands in Hoveden. If farther proof were wanting, it would be found in the fact, that we have a letter of much importance in a commercial point of view, signed by Henry, still on the continent, at a great distance from the coast, dated on the 26th of May in that year. There is some difficulty also in regard to the date of the capture of the King of Scots; for the expressions of both Hoveden and Diceto would lead one to imagine that it could not be so late as the 13th of July. One of those authors says, that Henry proceeded to Canterbury on the day after his arrival at Southampton, and passed the same night at Becket's tomb;—the other, that he went from Southampton to Canterbury with great speed; and all writers agree, that the King of Scots was taken on the very same morning that saw Henry's devotions completed at Canterbury, which, according to Hoveden's account, would have been the 10th of July. All, however, agree that it was on a Saturday; and therefore the account of William of Newbury must be correct; for the 3rd of the ides of July, or the 13th of that month, which he gives as the date, fell in that year on a Saturday, which corresponds exactly with the account of Henry's voyage, which took place, we are uniformly told, on the 8th of July, which was the 8th ides of the month, and the second ferial of the week, or Monday. Thus Henry, instead of going to Canterbury in one day, or indeed with his usual celerity, and performing his devotions on the next, must have been four days on the road, or must have spent three days in Canterbury.

time fallen upon the country, so dense as well nigh to prevent them from seeing their way. In these circumstances, it was proposed by some of the party to return; but Bernard de Baliol exclaimed, "Go back who will; sooner than bring such a spot upon my name, I will go on if not one should follow me."

These words decided their proceedings; the whole body marched forward, and in a few minutes the mist suddenly dispersed, leaving Alnwick castle standing out in the clear sunshine before their eyes, with the King of Scotland himself at the head of a small troop of horse, exercising himself in chivalrous games, within a short distance of the head of their line. He had not more than sixty horsemen with him; but at first the Scottish monarch did not interrupt his sport, believing that the body of soldiers he saw approaching, was merely one of his own parties returning from the plunder of the neighbouring country. Speedily, however, the sight of the banner of England, borne in the van, undeceived him; but his heart was incapable of fear, and he might well imagine, that within a bow-shot of his own camp, he would not be suffered to fight unsupported. Without a moment's hesitation, he put his lance in the rest, exclaiming, "Now it shall be seen what it is to be a knight," and led his men on to the attack of the English forces.

So rash an act was more than Henry's officers

could have hoped for ; at the very first charge the monarch's horse was killed under him, he himself cast to the ground, and taken prisoner, with almost every one of his followers. Many of those even who could have fled surrendered spontaneously, when they saw the King a prisoner. Several other nobles also suffered themselves to be taken, in order to share the captivity of their king ; and the small body of English knights, rejoicing in their success, retired unmolested to Richmond, in Yorkshire, carrying their captives with them ; while the Scotch army, struck with panic, fled into Scotland, and all the marauding parties which had been scattered over the northern counties followed the same course, and turned their arms to the destruction of each other.*

The joy of the King of England, and the country, was immense. The bells throughout the whole kingdom were rung in triumph ; and the people of London, though they had not been amongst the sufferers, were amongst the first in celebrating a victory which delivered the land from its inveterate foes. In the meanwhile, an army had

* It would seem that the barbarities committed by some of the Scottish parties, after their return to their own country, equalled those which they had perpetrated in England. See Hoveden and William of Newbury. The chronicle of Mailros, however, though it mentions the flight of David, the brother of the Scottish King, from Leicester, and his return to Scotland, does not notice these atrocities.

been collected in the neighbourhood of the capital ; and taking fortune at the flood, Henry immediately marched to Huntingdon, the garrison of which place surrendered on the 21st of July, receiving a promise of mercy. Turning from Huntingdonshire towards Suffolk, Henry advanced to besiege the Earl of Norfolk at Framlingham, while the King of Scotland's brother, who had been received into the castle of Leicester, effected his retreat into his own land. The English monarch might now have had to contend with a more dangerous opponent than he had hitherto met with ; for large detachments of Flemings had already been sent over to the support of the Earl, and a few hours' sail would have brought the Count of Flanders, according to his oath, to aid the English partisans of the younger Henry with the immense army he had collected. But the intelligence of the King himself having sailed for England, was enough to discourage the attempt of the Count ;* and almost at the same time with the news of Henry's arrival, came the tidings that the King of Scotland was taken, and his army dispersed.

Giving up all hope of seeing England conquered by his son-in-law, Louis the Seventh, as soon as this information reached him, called the younger Henry and the Count of Flanders to assist in the

* If the account of Diceto be correct, the young King Henry and the Count of Flanders broke up their camp on the very day the King of Scotland was taken.

most important siege which he had ever undertaken against the English monarch. Thus, before the fall of Huntingdon castle, the Count and the English Prince had retired from the coast; and on the day following the capture of that fortress, they were both in arms before the city of Rouen. Hugh Bigot might very well receive intelligence therefore, that he was abandoned by his allies, previous to the approach of Henry to Framlingham. The number of the Flemings that were with him, was not sufficient to take the field against the King of England; and was yet so great as to be burdensome, rather than useful, while shut up in the castles of Framlingham and Bungay. Under these circumstances, the Earl determined to capitulate; and consequently visiting the royal camp, he treated personally with the King, who, after considerable discussion regarding the fate of the Flemings, granted him much more favourable terms than he had any right to expect. On surrendering his two castles, paying a fine of a thousand marks of silver, and giving hostages for his future good conduct, he received the King's pardon; and the foreign troops in his service were suffered to depart in peace, upon taking an oath not to fight against Henry any more during the continuance of the war.

As soon as Norfolk and Suffolk were quieted, Henry marched to Northampton, and took up his abode in the castle. He had been before joined

by his natural son, Geoffrey Bishop-elect of Lincoln, who came more as a warrior than a prelate, and who shortly after obtained permission to abandon a profession which he had never loved, and follow that of arms, to which his chivalrous disposition led him. At Northampton the King was visited by many other friends, and there also all the rebels who had not yet submitted came in and made their peace. Roger de Mowbray, who had fled at the time of the capture of the King of Scotland, first sent messengers offering to surrender his castle of Thirsk, and subsequently presented himself to receive the King's pardon. The officers of the Earl of Leicester delivered up to the Sovereign the three fortresses of Leicester, Mount Sorel and Groby; the Earl of Derby gave up Tutbury and Duffield, and universal submission showed that the rebels had abandoned all hope of success. The Bishop of Durham, who was strongly suspected of having favoured the insurgents, came to justify himself; and Henry was not unwilling to receive his apologies, but exacted from him the castles of Durham, Norham, and Alverton, which the prelate had garrisoned with foreign troops on very suspicious pretences. The Earls of Clare and Gloucester subsequently met the King, as he journeyed towards Portsmouth with the purpose of embarking for France, and gave him every assurance of their loyalty, which had been strongly doubted.

Henry stayed in England no longer than was

absolutely necessary to reduce the whole land to obedience ; and having seen that great object accomplished with a rapidity almost inconceivable, he hastened to the aid of his gallant subjects in the good town of Rouen, who were by this time closely pressed by the enemy. The monarch embarked at Portsmouth on the 7th of August, taking with him, still in strict bonds, the King of Scotland, and the Earls of Chester and Leicester. Queen Eleanor and the Princess Margaret, his son's wife, were left behind in England, as a more secure place of abode, now that not the most remote chance seemed to exist of any renewal of the rebellion in this country. The King was accompanied by the whole body of Brabançois which he had brought with him, and several bands of Welsh soldiers, which had been sent to his aid by Owen, Prince of North Wales. The force which he thus carried with him was very considerable ; but the fame of his exploits in England was in itself a host. In little more than three weeks, he had reduced to submission a land which previous to his arrival had been in arms against his authority from one end to the other ; nor was the rapidity of this success less wonderful than the means by which it was accomplished,—means which were so totally inadequate to the object, and apparently so entirely independent of his own efforts, that the hand of Heaven working in his favour appeared to be manifest, and the superstition of the times attributed to the

intercession of the murdered Archbishop all the advantages gained by his repentant enemy. His passage to France was rapid and favourable; and having held a conference at Barfleur with the new Archbishop of Canterbury, and lodged his important prisoners in the castle of Caen, he marched on with all speed towards Rouen, which had now been besieged more than a fortnight.

The city of Rouen, then as now, occupied a large space on the northern bank of the Seine, while an important suburb appeared on the southern bank. Between these two parts, the Empress Matilda had, some years before, built a handsome bridge, which afforded the inhabitants a free communication with the heart of Normandy. The banks of the river are generally mountainous and irregular, but the hills in the neighbourhood of Rouen afforded no great facilities to an enemy, according to the mode of warfare in that day. The multitude of men which could be mustered by the French and Flemish armies united, would have been quite sufficient to blockade the city and to reduce it by famine, if they could have attacked it on both sides at once. The whole of the southern bank of the river, however, being in possession of Henry, and the population of that part of Normandy being zealous and eager in the cause of their sovereign, the confederate army could only approach from the side of Picardy, in which direction the Norman capital had

been left exposed by the fall of Aumale, Driencourt, and Neufchatel.

Amidst the mountains and forests and through the vallies of that beautiful part of France, by Blangis, Neufchatel, Poix and Aumale, the French armies had rapidly concentrated upon the capital of the Normans, and sat down before the town itself towards the end of July. The city was defended by walls, ditches, and strong towers; the Norman nobility poured in to defend it; the citizens, trained to military exercises, seized their arms to repel the enemy, and the bridge over the Seine afforded an easy entrance to the abundant harvests of that rich and plentiful land.

The besiegers, however, had every right to expect rapid success, for their numbers enabled them to assail, at one and the same moment, every point of the city itself, except that which was defended by the river, and also to divide their forces, in such a manner, as to give one part repose while the other continued the attack, and thus render the assault perpetual. They were furnished, also, with every sort of battering engine and implement of war then in use; and the union of different nations in the same attempt, enabled all the various warlike qualities of the Frenchman and the Fleming to be brought into action for the reduction of the besieged city.

The defenders of Rouen, on the other hand, were numerous, vigilant, and brave; the suburb on

the opposite bank of the Seine, and the bridge over that river, afforded them a place for repose, and a means of introducing supplies. They, too, divided their numbers, so as to keep a sufficient force constantly employed in the defence of the town at all points, while the remainder sought rest and refreshment.

The battering engines of the besieging army were plied at all points, and at all hours. The people of Rouen poured down upon the heads of the enemy the incessant shower of arrows and large masses of stone, with which it was then customary to defend a besieged place; and thus the siege proceeded from its commencement, on the 21st of July, till the 10th of August—the day of St. Lawrence, and the anniversary of that day on which the brother of the Count of Flanders had received his death-wound. The festival of that saint was very generally held in particular honour by all Europe at the time we speak of; and perhaps on that account, perhaps in memory of the death of the Count of Boulogne, the leaders of the enemy proposed a truce of one day to the besieged city, which was very willingly granted.

It would seem, from some accounts, that the French were already straitened for provisions, the woody and mountainous character of the country behind them rendering transport difficult. The town, on the contrary, was still abundantly supplied, and the citizens applied themselves to enjoy

a day of repose; some going to the churches to celebrate the festival of the martyr; some spending the time in banquetting and revelry, while multitudes made the streets resound with songs; and others exercised themselves in tilts, and feats of arms, amongst the green meadows which lay on the other side of the river, before the very eyes of their adversaries.

The appearance of perfect confidence which the city displayed, tempted the enemy to a shameful breach of faith. It was the Count of Flanders, we are told, who first proposed to the King of France to attack the walls of Rouen, while the people, trusting in the truce, were unprepared to resist. The King of France, it is said, at first refused, out of reverence for St. Laurence, but yielded at length to the arguments of all his nobles, who universally took part with the Count of Flanders. Everything then was prepared secretly for the attack of the city, the troops being mustered without the sound of trumpet, and each band warned to follow its commander as silently as possible to the escalade of the walls. There was however in the town of Rouen at that time, as in most other cities, a high belfry or tower, overtopping all the rest, and in which was hung a great bell called Ruvella, that usually called the citizens to arms in case of danger. It so happened, that on the afternoon of St. Laurence's day, some of the priests of the town went up into the tower and that one of them

looking out of the window into the enemy's camp, was struck with the silence and tranquillity that reigned therein. Presently he descried the movements of the enemy preparing to attack the city, and pointed out the fact to his comrades. The bell-rope was at hand—the sonorous voice of Ruvella sounded far and wide over the town; the citizens rushed to arms, the knights who had been tilting without poured into the city, and all classes rushed in fury to the walls. On their own battlements, however, they met the troops of France, many of whom had already passed the ditch, while a considerable body, having reached the summit, were calling to their companions with triumphant cries, as if the city was already taken.

They encountered a resistance, however, which they did not expect. Indignant at the base fraud which had been committed, the Normans fought with more determination and eagerness than ever. Man to man, and hand to hand, they met the assailants on the walls, cut them down as they stood, or hurled them headlong back into the ditch beneath. Still, however, the scaling ladders being placed, the French troops mounted eagerly, not to lose the advantage which had been gained, and the battle was continued till night fell, and the trumpets of the French and Flemish armies recalled the assailants from their treacherous enterprise.

After this event, the siege must have languished, even if Henry's return had been delayed. The

scarcity in the French camp had become great; news from England had arrived daily during the siege, of Henry's vast success; the brother of the Count of Flanders, whom he had taken from the clerical profession, to which he was at first devoted, that he might inherit the county of Flanders, was wounded under the walls, and everything contributed to damp the hopes of the besiegers; when suddenly—it would seem before they were at all aware that the King of England had landed on the continent—Henry appeared at the head of a large army the day after the festival of St. Laurence, and entered his Norman capital with great pomp before the eyes of the enemy. His numbers it would appear were not sufficient to justify him in fighting the confederates in the open field; but having obtained intelligence that a large convoy of wine and provisions was expected in the French camp, he sent out his light-armed Welshmen into the neighbouring forests to cut it off during the darkness of the night, while he himself produced a diversion in their favour by menacing the quarters of the French king. He accordingly caused one of the gates of the city which had been closed, to be opened, and part of the ditch to be filled up, so as to bring out his cavalry two hundred abreast. There is reason to believe, however, that the Welsh were completely successful, without any diversion being made in their favour; the troops which escorted the French waggons were attacked and put

to flight, the convoy was destroyed, and the British troops retired again into the woods, having accomplished their purpose with little or no loss.

The scarcity in the camp of the King of France had now increased to a very terrible extent, and giving up the hope of taking the city, Louis at length ordered his battering engines to be set on fire, and prepared to decamp with all speed. On the evening before this intention was executed, the King of England issued forth from the city, probably misled by the burning of the artillery into a belief that the French retreat was already begun. He was repulsed in his attack on the quarters of Louis, however, and retired, though not without some success, having taken several prisoners of distinction, and slain a considerable part of a body of cavalry which opposed him. The next day the adverse army actually withdrew from before Rouen, the rear of the French being covered by the Count of Flanders and his troops. We do not find from any good authority, that Henry attacked his enemies in their march, and the event of their retreat was certainly more honourable to them than the siege itself.

Some authors affirm, and amongst others Hoveden,* whose testimony, as an eye-witness of much

* Lord Lyttleton frames his account of these events, solely upon the statement of Diceto and William of Newbury; two persons who were not present, one of whom lived in a cloister, while the other, there is every reason to believe, never quitted England.

that he relates, is well worthy of attention upon these points, that the King of France was only allowed to depart unmolested in consequence of a

The words of Hoveden, on the contrary, are very different. We know, that he was very much about the person of Henry, and from his situation followed him upon many of his expeditions. Why, therefore, his testimony should be rejected without any manifest absurdity appearing in the statement, and with many strong probabilities existing in its favour, is difficult to divine. The only reason given by Lord Lyttleton for so doing is, that, in his opinion, it was not necessary for Louis to make such an engagement with Henry, as the French king's forces were too numerous to fear attack. This mode of dealing with authorities, would appear to me perfectly unreasonable under any circumstances, for surely all men do things that are not strictly necessary too often for any argument to be deduced from the exact fitness of a particular act, against the positive testimony of a person who was probably an eyewitness. The argument is still less tenable in the case of Louis, who was notorious for inconsistency of conduct. But, in this instance, it would appear that he acted most reasonably, according to the account of Hoveden. Lord Lyttleton admits that the very next day, the King of France sent messengers to make a proposal, which then could be of little or no service to him; whereas, if, as Hoveden states, he suggested such an arrangement only the day before, the advantages he gained were immense. By it he secured the retreat of his army, already somewhat enfeebled by famine and reverses, through a large extent of very difficult country, where Henry—possessing the whole adjacent territories, near to his resources, provided with an assured retreat, and accompanied by a body of light infantry, which had already done signal service against the French—could attack him incessantly, harass his march, and perhaps totally defeat him. It would therefore seem to me that there is every reason to receive rather than reject the testimony of Hoveden.

promise to return in a more peaceable manner on the following day, for the purpose of holding a conference with Henry in regard to the arrangement of a treaty of peace. It is added that he did not appear in person according to his engagement; and although this account is not confirmed either by William of Newbury, or by Diceto, it is, very probably, accurate. We find it admitted, on all hands, that not later than the day after the French king's retreat, the Count of Blois and the Archbishop of Sens visited Henry in order to arrange such a conference; and it is much more probable that Louis should, in the first place, by holding out the prospect of speedy pacification, employ the only means of securing his retreat and saving the lives of his soldiers, than that he should incur all the risk, and then make the same concession.

Whether Henry did or did not permit the French army to retire unmolested in consequence of an agreement between him and the French King, to the effect that negotiations for peace should be speedily renewed, it is certain that such a proposal was made by the King of France immediately before or immediately after the commencement of his retreat, and that a truce was concluded till a meeting could take place. The town appointed for a conference was Gisors, and the day the 8th of September following, being the Nativity of the Virgin.

The King of France was now, as well he might be, eager to terminate a war which had produced

no glory to himself, but which on the contrary had displayed him to the eyes of Europe in a pitiful and inferior point of view. Once more he had undertaken great efforts and had failed in carrying them into execution; once more he had appeared at the head of immense armies, and had led them to nothing but reverses; once more he had contended with his neighbour and feudatory, and had been repelled at every point, frustrated in every attack. His finances were exhausted, his troops disheartened, his enemy confident from success, and strengthened by great renown. In these circumstances, his desire of peace cannot be doubted; and it would seem, that he entirely dictated to the younger Henry and his brother Geoffrey the conduct which they were to pursue towards their father.

Richard, however, was at a distance from the spot, and was not likely to submit so easily. At the head of a small body of forces in the south of France, he was endeavouring to gain absolute possession of Poitou and Aquitaine. The successes of his offended parent, the defeat of his friends, discouraged him not; he was not of a character to abandon the advantages which his own exertions had already acquired for him; and although there can be no doubt that the King of France sent messengers to summon him to the conference at Gisors, yet when the day of the Nativity of the Virgin arrived, Richard did not appear, but still protracted the struggle in Poitou. It is true that very little

time had been allowed for him to decide, for only a fortnight intervened between the day of the retreat of the French forces from the walls of Rouen and that of the meeting at Gisors; and allowing the time necessary for arranging that meeting, only twelve days remained for the French King to send messengers from Gisors to a distant part of Poitou, a distance of more than three hundred miles, and for Richard, after holding councils and making any arrangements he thought fit, to return to the north and meet his father at the place of conference. Considering the difficulties of travelling in those days, the length of way, the disturbed state of the country, the interposition of a large part of Henry's territories between the camp of the King of France and the English monarch's insurgent son, it was decidedly unreasonable to suppose that Richard could, without some very extraordinary exertion, be present at the conference at Gisors. This will be the more evident if we recollect that it had taken four days and a half for a messenger, proceeding at all speed, to carry to Henry the news of the capture of the King of Scotland, though the distance was less than that which lay between Richard and the French monarch, and though the courier of Ranulph de Glanville travelled night and day. Notwithstanding these circumstances, and notwithstanding the oath which he had taken to make no peace with Henry that did not include all the sons of the English

monarch, the perfidious King of France and the brothers of Richard met their successful adversary at Gisors, and without any consideration for the young Duke of Aquitaine, prolonged the truce which had been concluded after the delivery of Rouen, till the 29th of September, when a new conference was appointed to be held between Tours and Amboise. In the meantime, they agreed to give no assistance whatsoever to Richard, but to leave his father free to compel him by force of arms to submit. We have not the slightest reason to believe that the Prince, whose interest they thus betrayed, had shown any obstinacy, though that fact has been asserted by modern writers; indeed we do not know that the messengers of the King of France had brought back his reply, or had even found him; and therefore we are fully justified in looking on the concessions made by Louis and the rest of the confederates at Gisors, as a gross and scandalous abandonment of one of the confederates by the others; in which point of view, as I shall soon show, it was regarded by Richard himself.

Henry lost not a moment in taking advantage of the opportunity thus basely afforded him, and marched with a large army to attack his son in Poitou. The force left at the disposal of the English king by his treaty with the King of France was so great that the insurgent Prince could have no hope of contending with him unaided, although we find that he had already taken a number of fortresses in

that county. Not conceiving it possible, however, that his brothers and the other confederates who had first led him into rebellion, would now altogether abandon him, he resolved to hold out, in the hope that they would give him assistance, or at least effect some diversion in his favour. His heart was too bold and firm to believe that mighty princes and kings, supported by the whole power of two warlike nations, and bound by the most solemn vows to each other, would fall prone under the first touch of adversity, and leave one of their number without the slightest aid or support. He therefore retreated before the royal army from castle to castle, in the daily hope of receiving succour from his allies. At length, however, intelligence reached him of the convention entered into at Gisors ; and, finding himself utterly betrayed and abandoned to the wrath of his father, his resolution gave way under a sense of danger and of wrong ; and with one of those bursts of fearless generosity which characterised him, without making any terms or demanding any hostages for his safety, he mounted his horse, sought the camp of the English King, and cast himself with tears of mingled sorrow and indignation at Henry's feet.*

* I do not scruple to affirm that the account of this transaction given both by Lord Lyttleton and Mr. Berington, as well as that of Dr. Lingard, are altogether contrary to history. I have shown that the time which was allowed for messengers to seek Richard and to summon him to the conference at Gisors, and for

His submission was accepted with paternal kindness, the King and his son entered the city of

the young Prince to reach that town, was unreasonably short, and I know of no contemporary author who declares that any answer was returned by Richard at all. Gervase does not tell us anything that took place at the conference at Gisors, neither does Diceto, neither does William of Newbury. None of them mention that Richard refused to be included in the truce. None of them say that he knew of it at all, and yet Lord Lyttleton declares that Richard refused singly the conditions proposed. Pompous Mr. Berington calls him the "stubborn youth;" and Dr. Lingard says that Richard alone, the King's second son, refused to be included in the provisions of the armistice concluded at Gisors. For the whole of this account he quotes Hoveden, a contemporary who was certainly with the court of Henry, and probably about his person, during the whole expedition. But what does Hoveden really tell us? If there be not some secret manner of translating the words of an historian, Hoveden says the direct contrary, and by his whole account shows that Richard probably did not know of the conference at all, and certainly knew none of the "provisions" of the armistice. The words of Hoveden are these:—"A few days after (the delivery of Rouen), the King of France sent the aforesaid Archbishop of Sens and Count Theobald to the King of England, fixing the day of conference at Gisors, for the nativity of St. Mary; but when they came there it was not possible to agree upon anything on account of Richard Count of Poitou, who was at that time in Poitou, making war against the castles and men of his father; and therefore they agreed upon a conference elsewhere, that is to say, on the feast of St. Michael, between Tours and Amboise; and a truce was agreed upon between them on this condition, that Richard Count of Poitou should be excluded from the truce, and that the King of France and the young King of England should give him no succour. This being agreed on both parts, the elder King of England marched his army into

Poitiers as friends, and went thence together to the conference between Amboise and Tours, which took place on the morrow of St. Michael.

If the King of France and the rest of the confederates had been anxious for peace before the subjection of Richard, they were, of course, not less disposed to it now, when they saw him appear, restored to his father's friendship and favour, and detached altogether from their cause, by their own ungenerous conduct. This fact, as well as other great advantages which Henry had lately gained, acted, undoubtedly, as the motive for diminishing to a very great extent the concessions which the King of England had previously offered to make; and, probably, had he been so inclined, he might have resisted still farther the pretensions of his children, so much were they depressed by the reverses which had befallen their arms. He was inclined, however, to concede much for the sake of peace; and in the conference between Tours and Amboise certain terms of agreement were

Poitou. Richard Count of Poitou, not daring to wait his father's advance, fled from place to place; but *when it was told him, that the King of France and his brother had excluded him from the truce*, he was moved with indignation thereat, and coming with tears, he cast himself prone on the earth at the feet of his father, and praying forgiveness, was received into his father's bosom." These are the exact words of Hoveden as I find them, and yet this is the authority quoted by Dr. Lingard, when he declares that Richard refused to be included in the provisions of the armistice.

speedily drawn up, in the presence and with the consent of a vast body of Norman and French nobility, which were afterwards confirmed by a treaty signed at Falaise. The particulars of the latter convention are as follows, and although some slight difference exists in the wording as given by various authors, the meaning, in all the principal copies, is the same.

This is the agreement made between the King and his sons :—

1. Be it known to all persons, both present and to come, that peace is renewed, God willing, between our lord Henry King of England, and his sons, that is to say, Henry the King, and Richard and Geoffrey.

2. Henry the King and his said brothers, shall return to their father and to his service, as their Lord, free and absolved from all oaths and engagements which they have made, either amongst themselves or with others, against him and his adherents.

3. And all barons and vassals who, upon their account, have withdrawn their allegiance from their father, they have proclaimed free from all oaths which have been taken to them; and thus free from all oaths, and absolved from all agreements which have been made to them, the said barons shall return under the dominion, and to the allegiance, of their lord the King.

4. And our lord King, his barons and vassals,

shall have restored to them all their lands and castles which they possessed fifteen days before his sons fell away from him ; in the same manner, the barons and vassals who abandoned him and followed his sons, shall have restored to them their lands which they possessed fifteen days before they fell away from him ; and our lord the King remits all ill-will towards his barons and vassals who left him, so that on this account he will never do them any harm, so long as they continue to serve him faithfully as their liege lord.

5. And the King his son, in a similar manner, has freed from his displeasure all those, whether clergy or laity, who have been with his father ; and he swears before our lord the King, his father, that he will never either do, or seek to do, any injury or evil whatsoever to them on this account throughout the whole of his life.

6. And our lord the King, by this convention, gives to the King his son, two proper castles in Normandy, at the choice of his father, and each year fifteen thousand pound Angevin ; and to Richard his son, two fit dwelling-places in Poitou, whence there can be no evil done to our lord the King, and also half the revenues of Poitou in money ; to Geoffrey his son, however, he gives in Brittany half the revenues of the dower of the daughter of the Count Conan, whom he is to wed ; and afterwards, when he shall have wedded her with the consent of the Roman church, he shall

have the whole of the revenues of the said dower, as is expressed in the charter of Count Conan.

7.* The prisoners, however, who had entered into composition with our lord the King before the conclusion of peace made with our lord the King, that is to say, the King of Scotland, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Chester, and Raoul of Fougères, and their hostages, and the hostages of other

* This clause and the preceding one are worthy of remark on various accounts. In clause No. 6, it will be seen that Conan the Less, Duke of Brittany, is merely called Count, which, as he always took the title of Duke, and also received it from Henry, is sufficiently remarkable to make us doubt the genuineness of this treaty altogether, did not the seal and various other internal marks, as well as the concurring testimony of all contemporaries, prove to a certainty that it is the original document. In the clause No. 7, will be found stipulations regarding the freedom of certain prisoners, who are said to have already entered into arrangements with the King of England for their liberation, amongst whom are the King of Scots, and the Earls of Leicester and Chester. Now if this treaty had been drawn up between Tours and Amboise, as almost all writers have asserted, in consequence of having wrongly read a loose expression of Hoveden, we should feel inclined on that account also to reject the document as spurious, because it mentions events which did not take place till afterwards. The King of Scotland, and the Earls of Leicester and Chester had at that time entered into no agreement with Henry whatsoever. He had left them all in Normandy in strict imprisonment. But what is the true history of this treaty, generally said to have been signed between Tours and Amboise? The fact is, that it was signed long afterwards at Falaise, and bears upon the face of it the name of that town. If Lord Lyttleton had attended to this fact, it would have given him an insight into the history of the whole trans-

prisoners whom he previously has had, are not comprised in this convention. All other prisoners, however, on both parts, are to be freed in such a manner, that our lord the King shall receive hostages from such of his prisoners as he chooses to have them from, and who can give them; and from others he shall have security by their own oaths, and the oaths of their friends.

8. The castles which have been built or strengthened since the war began in the territories of our lord the King, are at his will to be restored to the state in which they were fifteen days before the war.

9. Besides, it is to be understood that the King Henry the younger, agrees with our lord the King, his father, strictly to hold and confirm all charitable donations which have been given, or were to be given, out of his lands; and all donations of land given, or to be given, to his vassals for his service.

action, elucidating points which appeared dark and difficult to him, and in order to explain which, he was driven to suppositions, in which I believe he was wrong. He finds no express motives in the historians of the day, for Henry neglecting to secure himself by including the King of France in the treaty; and he imagines that the French monarch and the other confederates being merely considered as allies of the young King Henry, the war with them dropt as soon as that prince concluded a peace with his father. This is not at all credible; and it is much more probable that a treaty was concluded with the King of France, as we shall show hereafter. The convention here given was undoubtedly sketched out at the conference, but was afterwards altered and signed at Falaise.

10. He agrees also to observe firmly, and without alteration, the donation which our lord the King, his father, has made to his brother John,—namely, a thousand pounds of revenue in England, from his domain, and from his escheats at his pleasure ; and his castle of Nottingham, with its county and appurtenances ; and the castle of Marlborough, and its appurtenances ; and in Normandy, a thousand pound Angevin, and two castles, at his father's pleasure ; and in Anjou, and in the lands which belonged to the county of Anjou, a thousand pound Angevin of revenue, with one castle in Anjou, one in Maine, and one in Touraine.

11. It is also agreed by our lord the King, for the love of his son, that all those who have left him after his son, and by so leaving him have become forfeit in the lands of our lord the King, shall be received again to his peace in such a manner as not to be accountable for the chattels which they might have taken away with them ; but for murder, robbery, or maiming, they shall answer according to justice and the law of the land. Whosoever also has fled upon any account before the war, and came into the service of his son, shall, for the love of that son, be permitted to return in peace, if they give security to abide the judgment of the law in those matters which preceded the war:

12. Those also who were impleaded when they went over to his son, may return, and their causes

shall be considered in the same state as when they departed.

13. To hold this agreement faithfully, the King Henry, son of the King, took an oath in the hand of his father. Besides this, he, Henry, the son of the King, and his brothers, have pledged themselves that they will never exact more from our lord the King, their father, beyond the afore-written and definite donation, against the good-will and pleasure of our lord the King, their father; and that they will never withdraw from him, their father, either their persons or their services.

14. Richard and Geoffrey, sons of our lord the King, have done homage to him for that which he has granted them; but when his son Henry wished to do homage also, our lord the King refused to receive it, because he was a king, but took security from him.

Such were the terms of the famous treaty by which the younger Henry and his brothers were reconciled to their father; and certainly, if we recollect the superiority which the monarch had gained in arms, and the commanding position in which he presented himself at the conference between Tours and Amboise, we may well wonder at the moderation he displayed. We are not, however, to suppose that the treaty as here given, was precisely a counterpart of that signed at the conference which we have mentioned. Such is proved not to be the case, as it is not only dated

from Falaise, but makes mention of the agreement between the King of Scotland and the King of England, which did not take place until some time after the meeting between Tours and Amboise. We cannot doubt, however, that it was there sketched out, and in all probability some preliminary agreement was drawn up, as a foundation for the subsequent convention. We are compelled, indeed, to suppose that a general treaty of peace, comprising the King of France and the Count of Flanders, was signed nearly at the same time, though the document has been since lost to us, and the particulars are unknown. Very few of the records of that time are any longer to be found; but it is not at all reasonable to imagine, that Henry would be induced to sheath the sword which he had wielded so powerfully, without some better warranty of the pacific intentions of his principal enemy than a mere abstinence from aggression. I therefore conceive, it is not too much to assert, that some treaty was absolutely entered into by Henry and Louis, the more especially as, besides the prisoners belonging to the English monarch's own territories which were liberated by him after the conference, there were a number of French knights and nobles set free, who certainly were not contemplated by any of the articles of the known treaty; as from all the prisoners therein mentioned, Henry reserves the right of taking hostages for their future good conduct, which could only be applicable to his own vassals.

Indeed, we find in the records of after transactions remote allusions to a treaty concluded between the Kings of France and England at this time, though they are not sufficiently distinct to give us an insight into the terms agreed upon.

The moderation of the King of England, the forgivingness of his disposition, and his love of peace, were never more strikingly displayed than upon the present occasion. It must be remembered, that the prisoners in his hands were not in general merely enemies taken in battle, but that many of them were rebels of the most ungrateful character—that many of them had broken every bond which ought to bind a subject to his sovereign, or a man of feeling to his benefactor—that some had even instigated the young princes to rebel against their father, bringing all the horrors and miseries of war upon a happy and peaceful country; and yet Henry sought no vengeance. He did not even require what the customs of the day justified him in exacting, but freed without fine or ransom no less than nine hundred and sixty-nine gentlemen of the knightly degree; if he had been as avaricious as some persons have asserted, he might well have drawn from that number of prisoners, by a very moderate and lawful exercise of his power, a sum which would have defrayed the expenses of his late warlike operations.

Those prisoners who were reserved from the amnesty promised by the agreement entered into be-

tween Tours and Amboise, were somewhat more hardly dealt with; and it is probable that, in order to hold the sword over their heads, Henry did not sign the definitive treaty with his sons till after they had agreed to the terms which he thought fit to dictate. In regard to the King of Scotland, the English monarch showed himself more severe than in his dealings with any of the others, exacting from him the submission of his crown to the crown of England; and binding the bloodthirsty and barbarous neighbour, who had countenanced and commanded the most atrocious cruelties against the English provinces on the border, by the strong bond of feudal homage. Henry required that this submission should be full and perfect, and that it should be approved of and warranted by the nobles and clergy of Scotland, so that at no future period the vassalage of the Scottish crown to that of England should ever be called in question, in consequence of any informality in the act.

The Scottish barons and prelates were permitted to confer with their sovereign in the castle of Falaise, to which he had been removed not long before; and at their entreaty, and by their advice, he agreed to the terms demanded by the English King. He did homage to Henry himself, and to his eldest son, not as any of his predecessors had done to English monarchs, for particular territories in England, but for the whole kingdom of Scotland and all

his possessions whatsoever. He swore fealty as to his liege lord—he submitted the church of Scotland to the church of England; and such of his clergy and barons as Henry thought fit to summon, also did homage and swore fealty. At the same time the King of Scotland agreed to receive into his dominions no fugitives from England accused of felony, the same agreement being entered into by Henry in regard to fugitives from the neighbouring state. As security for the performance of his promises, the Scottish monarch gave up to the King of England five strong places, and also assigned twenty-one hostages, amongst whom were his brother David and the chief noblemen of the realm.

These concessions were embodied in a convention between the two monarchs, and the barons and prelates of Scotland pledged themselves in writing, to ensure the fulfilment of the treaty on the part of the King of Scotland; and promised that, if he should in any degree violate the terms, they would abandon him and serve the King of England as their liege lord.

Thus was established a claim upon the crown of Scotland, which produced in after years a long series of bloody and brutal hostilities, fruitless and injurious to England, and ruinous to the neighbouring country; as indeed must always be the case when the submission of a people is effected by violence, unless the memory of that violence be subsequently obliterated by kindness, generosity

and good government, producing that gratitude and affection which is in truth the liege homage of the heart.

To the treaty between the Kings of Scotland and England, which was antecedent to the convention signed at Falaise between Henry and his sons,* is affixed the name of Prince Richard as one of the witnesses. He here takes the title of Count of Poitou; nothing having been said, apparently, on either part, in regard to his claims upon Aquitaine. Every circumstance indeed, shows that there must have been many negotiations and conferences about this time, of which we are totally ignorant. In some of these transactions it is not improbable that the name of the unhappy Queen Eleanor was mentioned, and that an effort was made to free her from that imprisonment to which her unfaithful husband had subjected her, as a punishment for inciting rebellion against him in his own family and dominions. It is scarcely possible to conceive that the children whom she had nourished with such tender affection, and

* In the convention between Henry and his sons, this treaty is clearly referred to; the expression used to express the agreements entered into with certain prisoners being exactly the same which is placed at the head of the convention with the King of Scotland. In the treaty between Henry and his sons we find, "Prisones vero, qui cum Domino Rege *fnem* fecerunt;" and that with the King of Scots is entitled, "Hæc, est conventio et *fnis*, &c."

over whose minds she possessed such power, should make no effort to soften the indignation of their father; or that Louis, King of France, notwithstanding the mean acts of which he was frequently guilty, should, after his solemn oath, so entirely forget the interests which he had vowed to uphold, as not to make some attempt, by persuasion, threat, or negotiation, to liberate his former wife. If any such efforts were made, however, Henry continued obdurate, and the Queen was destined to remain in prison for a long series of years. Perhaps the passions of the English king had in this result a greater share than his policy; and that in confining a rebellious and artful queen, he delivered himself from the restraint of a jealous and irritable wife. We are, at all events, justified in believing that such might be his object, by the great and notorious licentiousness which disgraced the monarch's character.

In regard to the Earls of Leicester and Chester, we have no very satisfactory information. It would appear, however, that both were set at liberty about the same time as the other prisoners, though all their vast domains remained for some time in the hands of the King. There is much obscurity as to Henry's conduct towards these two noblemen during some years; for it would appear from a cause which was tried in the King's court, that the Earl of Leicester was still considered the lord of his former territories, though he did not possess them; and it is therefore

certain that Henry had not proceeded to absolute forfeiture for rebellion according to law. At the same time, however, we find that the town and forest of Leicester had been adjudged absolutely to the crown, at the time when Henry thought fit to restore the Earl's possessions. This act of clemency took place in 1177; but it was not brought about without the most profound humiliation and penitence on the part of the Earl. He declared, in a cause tried between him and another baron, who had previously held lands as his vassal, and who now sought to transfer his homage to Henry, that although he had in his possession charters which clearly established his title to the estates in question, he would urge no plea against the will of his sovereign, but yielded all his rights to his sovereign's mercy. Those words, and probably still more substantial proofs of his repentance and submission, induced the King of England to pardon his offences, and to restore him to the whole of his possessions, with the exception of one feof in England, which was found to have belonged to the royal domain; and one in Normandy, which the King judged right, from its dangerous capabilities, to retain in the possession of the crown. The same course of lenity was pursued towards the Earl of Chester; and thus Henry's conduct at the conclusion of the war displayed mercy and forbearance to the end.

Little remained to be done, in order to termi-

nate the various transactions arising out of the unhappy insurrection of the monarch's children; and Henry hastened in person to superintend the demolition of the rebel fortresses in Anjou. To Geoffrey he entrusted the same care in Brittany; and, confiding fully in the frank and open character of Richard, he dispatched him into Poitou, to raze the castles which had been erected to support his own cause.

Henry thus made a marked difference between his two younger and his eldest son; and it would seem, indeed, that Prince Henry had given his father some fresh cause of offence, though on what occasion does not absolutely appear. The King of France took upon him once more to interfere between the parent and the son, and, it is said, strongly recommended the younger Henry not to return with his father into England, endeavouring to fill his mind with apprehensions. A conference which was held at Gisors, and at which the Prince, as well as his father and the King of France, was present, does not appear to have at all diminished the feelings of jealousy that existed on all parts; and we find that when at length, early in the year 1175, Henry II. prepared to set sail for England, and summoned his eldest son to join him at Caen, for the purpose of accompanying him, the young King at first refused, giving him to understand that he was taught to doubt his sincerity in the reconciliation which had taken place. Henry,

however, sent to inform him that such suspicions were unfounded; and the young King in consequence returned to his father's court, accompanied by the Archbishop of Rouen and some other prelates, and casting himself at the monarch's feet, with many sobs and tears besought his forgiveness and mercy. He assured Henry however, at the same time, that he could never believe his father was really reconciled to him, unless he were suffered to do homage and swear allegiance, as had been the case with his brothers; and he entreated the King, consequently, to permit him to perform that act, which more than any other bound two persons to one another in the feudal ages. Henry was much affected, we are told, by the humiliation and penitence of his son, and assenting to his request, received his homage; after which the younger Henry swore voluntarily, upon the relics of saints, to serve his father faithfully in all things, to act by his advice alone, never to do any injury whatsoever to those who had adhered to their sovereign in the late war, but, on the contrary, rather to promote and honor them as faithful servants both to father and son, and to order his whole household and establishment according to his parent's pleasure. As pledges for the fulfilment of this promise, the young Prince presented the Archbishop of Rouen, three bishops, the Earl of Essex, and a number of other barons; and he promised confidently that the King of France, the

Count of Flanders, his brothers Richard and Geoffrey, the Counts of Blois and Champagne, and all the nobles of Henry's dominions on both sides of the water, should bind themselves to stand by his father, and take part against himself, in case of his infringing the convention* then made.

This transaction took place at the Castle of Bure, on the 1st of April, 1175. The tranquillity of the King of England seemed now to be established on a foundation not to be shaken; and he suffered his son once more to visit his father-in-law the King of France, although that monarch was assuredly the most dangerous counsellor which the English prince could meet. No evil, however, resulted at the time; and the younger Henry rejoining his father very speedily, they appeared together during the festivities of Easter, at the town of Cherbourg, displaying towards each other every sign of renewed affection and confidence.† They thence proceeded to Caen,

* The letter in which Henry announced these facts to his English Parliament, held at Westminster shortly after, is preserved by Diceto.

† We are told that they ate at the same table and slept in the same bed. The young Henry could not have been long absent from his father, *if at all*, as Easter-day happened on the 13th of April, and they were then certainly at Cherbourg, having been at Bure, near Caen, on the 1st of the month. After some hesitation, I have admitted the visit of the younger Henry to the King of France into the text, because Lord Lyttleton has admitted it; but it is to be remarked that Hoveden says nothing of such a journey at this time, and the more I study the

in order to meet the Count of Flanders, who desired an interview with the two English princes. The

work of that writer, the more I am inclined to trust with confidence to his statements, especially regarding the reign of Henry the Second. He is accused of having borrowed very largely from Benedict, Abbot of Peterborough ; but after the strictest examination, I am not disposed to believe that this charge is at all just, as far as regards the reign of Henry the Second, during the course of which he had far greater opportunities of knowing what really took place than the Abbot himself possessed; for Benedict, till he became Abbot of Peterborough, remained almost always at Canterbury, while Hoveden was attached immediately to the King's court, enjoyed his full confidence, and was, shortly before this period, employed by him in a very important negociation. Benedict was in the first instance a monk, and as such mingled but little with the world. He was attached, however, to Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, who succeeded Becket, and was named his chancellor, on his elevation. In this situation he remained during the difficulties which the Archbishop had to encounter from the opposition of the young King Henry, and I believe that he accompanied the prelate to Rome. After the confirmation of the Archbishop's election by the Pope, Benedict was chosen Prior of Canterbury, the former Prior, Odo, having been removed to the Abbacy of St. Martin. He was afterwards appointed Abbot of Peterborough in 1177. Thus, in fact, he had very little opportunity of knowing much from his own observation, at all events before the year 1177. As there must have been some communication between him and Hoveden, however, it is likely that he derived his facts—till the beginning of the reign of Richard, when he himself obtained greater facilities for observation,—from Henry's chaplain, and put them into more elegant language, rather than that Hoveden took his materials from a person who had less opportunities of real knowledge than himself, and then barbarised that which

motive of his coming is somewhat differently stated by contemporary writers, and it is very probable that more than one inducement led him to the conference at Caen. He had assumed the cross some short time before in the great church of St. Peter, at Ghent; and the English authors of that day uniformly declare, that the cause of this act, which bound him to go in arms to the Holy Land, was remorse for the part he had taken in the war against Henry. The Flemish historians, however, attribute his crusade merely to zeal for religion; and it is very probable that such a cause might operate in some degree. Nor is it unlikely that one of his objects in coming to meet the King of England at Caen, was to make some atonement for the offence he had committed, although it is certain that another was, to regain the pension which he had formerly received from Henry, and to renew his alliance with a powerful monarch whom he had so justly offended. However that may be, in the conference which now took place, he gave up into the hands of the two Kings the charter of donation with which the younger Henry had weakly purchased his coopération.

he stole. After the coronation of Richard, at which Benedict was present, his authority is undoubtedly great, as he spoke probably from his own knowledge, and very likely the chaplain borrowed a part from him relative to the subsequent events, Hoveden himself having, by that time, retired from the world, and devoted himself to the composition of his history.—*See Ger-vase and Diceto.*

ation, and formally freed that prince from all engagements to himself. In return the treaty was renewed which had been entered into several years before the commencement of the war between Henry II. and the Flemish sovereign,—and the Count retired with the assurance that his territories would be safe during his absence on the crusade. His remorse for the blood which had been shed, and his purpose of visiting the tomb of his Redeemer, did not prevent him from committing a fearful act of cruelty before he went,—if the account of Diceto is to be believed. He is stated, immediately after his return from the conference at Caen, to have taken one Walter des Fontaines in adultery with the Countess his wife; and notwithstanding the example of patience set before him by his ally the King of France, we are assured, he put the adulterer to death in the most inhuman and barbarous manner. In the meantime, Henry and his eldest son returned to England; and the first unhappy rebellion of Richard against his father being now at an end, I shall pause to notice several events which took place during the years 1173, 1174, and 1175, which give us some insight into the state and progress of society at that time.

The simplicity of the first ages of chivalry was at an end, and a more gorgeous and ostentatious epoch was now beginning. The generosity and liberality which had been inculcated as virtues of a prin-

cial order, had now deviated into profusion and extravagance. The arms and clothing of the knights were of the most sumptuous and costly description. Their shields were covered with gold, and painted or enamelled with various colours; their tents also were ornamented in every different way that their fancy could devise; the crests of their helmets blazed with the precious metals, and sometimes with jewels; and the robes and the surcoats which they wore, were formed of the richest silks and cendals, of scarlet and every other bright and dazzling hue. Fine linen, which was then a rarity, was eagerly sought amongst them; and we find from John of Salisbury, that it was becoming the custom in that day to make the garments of the male part of society, when not absolutely in the field, fit so tightly to the body as to resemble a skin. At the great meetings of princes, every sort of pageantry and luxury was displayed; and in the year 1174 one of those conferences occurred, in which splendour and profusion were carried to an excess that more resembled some of the wild follies of the Roman tyrants or the extravagant pomp of eastern barbarians, than anything that modern Europe has produced. In the course of that year, the Count of Toulouse, as much, in all probability, with the design of being absent from a scene of warfare, where he might have been obliged to take part with one of two princes to each of whom he had done homage, as for the

purpose of arranging some difficult affairs on his eastern frontier, retired from his capital towards the Gulf of Lyons, and held, what was then called a *cour plenière* at his Castle of Beaucaire.

It is affirmed, that Henry King of England himself had appointed to meet the King of Arragon at that place, in order to mediate a reconciliation between him and the Count of Toulouse. The English King, however, was prevented from attending by the war in which he was engaged ; and the time passed in festivities and sports. Nearly ten thousand knights are said to have been present on the occasion, one baron alone, named William de Martel, having three hundred knights in his train. Every one endeavoured to surpass the other in extravagance ; the Count of Toulouse gave a hundred thousand solidi, or two thousand marks of fine silver, to a knight named Raymond d'Agout, who immediately distributed them amongst the other persons present. William de Martel required all his repasts to be cooked by the heat of wax candles. Bertrand Raimbaud ordered the fields in the neighbourhood of the castle to be ploughed, and sown with small coin, in which insane act he scattered thirty thousand solidi ; and Raymond de Venous, to add brutality to folly, caused thirty of his finest horses to be burnt before the whole assembly.

Such were the amusements of the famous *cour plenière* of Beaucaire, as described by a contemporary ; but as out of evil continually springs good,

it would seem not at all improbable, that this extravagant meeting, by the multitude of merchants and dealers which it called together from all parts of the world, gave rise to the well-known annual fair of Beaucaire, which for so many years was one of the greatest commercial marts in the world.

The *cour plenière* of Beaucaire, however, afforded by no means a solitary example. In a thousand other instances, human vanity and pride, unchecked by accurate notions either in taste or morals, and acting in the free license of a state nearly approaching to barbarism, produced results scarcely less wild and extravagant. But although it is always to be lamented that men should fall into such absurdities, yet the consequences are not altogether so evil as they appear. Society has always hitherto vacillated between one excess and another; in some stages going backwards and forwards to the very extremes, and even in more refined and cultivated ages trembling like a finely balanced lever, at the slightest impulse, and continually passing to and fro over the accurately adjusted mark without ever pausing at the exact point. But from these continual fluctuations, and from the deviation from what is perfect in taste, in feeling and in thought, arises that boundless variety which in itself is admirable. One epoch may not always improve upon another; and it occasionally happens that, in consequence of some great convulsion, the world is cast back for many centuries. But

in the common course of events, each age, in its deviation from that which preceded it, produces new and beautiful combinations in its progress to the extreme opposite of that which went before.

To the extravagant splendour and ostentatious magnificence of these ages, may be attributed very many improvements in various arts, and in none more than architecture. Superstition, indeed, joined with the love of display; but superstition almost always derives its character from the circumstances that surround it, and though it acts upon the spirit of the age, it receives in return an impression from that spirit, which characterises all its efforts, in whatever direction they may be turned. Mere superstition would never have produced the crusades, had not other circumstances given to that impulse a great military development; and though, as some writers have asserted, superstition might have a share in producing the magnificent edifices which at this time rose thickly throughout every part of Europe, yet she might have restrained her efforts to raising the mighty stones of the Druids, or piling up the rubble temples of the early Saxons, if the ambition of exciting wonder by performing vast and extraordinary things in every course that presented itself to the human mind, had not brought about the second great change in the architecture of modern Europe.

Various splendid buildings had been erected in the time of Stephen, and some remains thereof are pro-

bably to be seen in our own day; but towards the period to which we have now conducted this history, a catastrophe took place which produced one of the greatest efforts in this art that Europe had ever witnessed. The cathedral church at Canterbury, in the year 1174, was suddenly found to be on fire, and a considerable part of the building, though not the whole, was destroyed, to the grief of those who fondly believed it to be the most magnificent structure that human skill and diligence could produce. The choir was the part which suffered the most; and one of the monks who witnessed the conflagration has written a long and enthusiastic account of repairs, which occupied the next ten years to complete. A number of the columns were so injured that for some time a great difference of opinion existed as to whether it would or would not be necessary to pull down the whole of the building. All the great architects of France and England were called to consult upon the subject, and after much discussion, the plans of William of Sens were adopted, who declared it necessary to take down the choir, and every part of the edifice which had been affected by the fire. The work of reparation was then commenced with great activity; and day by day the monk Gervase noted down all that took place, and transmitted it to posterity, but in so tedious and discursive a manner, that although his account is invaluable as a source of information regarding our early architecture, it is perfectly im-

possible to admit it into a work of a wider scope, or so to abridge it as to render it at all interesting to the general reader. We may mention, however, one or two points of difference between the choir as now rebuilt by the Archbishop Richard, and the former structure, erected by Lanfranc, in the year 1071; which alterations will serve, in some degree, to mark the progress that architecture had made at this period. The capitals of the ancient pillars, we are told, were plain; in the new building they were richly sculptured. The number of columns also was increased. The arches too, and every other thing, we are told, were previously plain, being cut with the axe and not with the chisel. In the new building every thing was fittingly sculptured. No marble pillars were formerly in the church; but in the structure built under Archbishop Richard they were numerous. In the church of Lanfranc, the vault was of wood, ornamented with extraordinary paintings; in that which was raised at the period of which we speak, it was of stone. Another change which is particularly mentioned, is not so easily understood, though it is evident that Gervase means to point out a great change in the forms of the arches. He declares that the arches in the circuit outside of the choir, were plain in the old building, but that in the new one just erected, they were *bowed and keyed or studded*. His exact meaning is certainly obscure; but I am inclined to believe that the arches he spoke of were those par-

ticularly noticed by Mr. Rickman in his valuable work upon the styles of architecture in England, where he says, "At Canterbury, in the choir, are some curious pointed horse-shoe arches, but these are not common."*

Such are a few of the changes made at that time in the choir of Canterbury cathedral, which may, perhaps, be considered the first building of what is now called, the early English style, though the plans were those of a French architect. It was finished indeed, by an Englishman; but we are not told that he introduced any changes into the designs of his predecessor.

In the history that we have of this building, it is to be remarked that there is not the slightest trace of the work having been undertaken or carried on with any superstitious feelings. In building a church, religious ideas must always, as a matter of course, have some share; for except in a very narrow and limited view, such an undertaking is

* See Rickman's "Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England," p. 60. The words of Gervase, which will be more intelligible probably to an architect than they are to the author of these pages, are as follows:—"Ibi in circuitu extra chorum fornices planæ, hic arcuatæ sunt et clavatæ." Let it clearly be understood, that the author of these pages makes no pretension to a knowledge of architecture; and that he only mentions the above facts because they form a part of the general history of the period, which it is impossible for him to omit, as affecting greatly the progress of the human mind during the age to which his work refers.

not merely the erection of a large and convenient receptacle for a certain number of people ; but the solemnity of the object for which they are to assemble, the majesty of the Being whom they meet to worship, the awe and reverence which His attributes inspire, must all have an effect upon the minds of those who attempt such a task, and they can never forget that they are raising an edifice in some degree to the glory of God, as it is intended for His adoration by His grateful creatures. We trace such feelings in the account given by Gervase of Dover, and they are of course modified in their expression and direction by his habits and religion ; but we find much fewer evidences of superstitious motives in his record of the rebuilding of the choir of Canterbury, than in the accounts which have come down to us of the erection of the Abbey of Croyland, which was commenced just sixty years before. So much is this the case indeed, that taken in conjunction with other facts, it tends to show that the people of England had in the intervening period become more enlightened in mind as well as improved in taste, notwithstanding all that had been done to obscure truth and reason by the mist of falsehoods which rose from the tomb of Thomas à Becket.

That superstition did still exist, as one of the grand motives of society in that day, there can be no doubt. Nor is it to be denied, that though it might not stimulate genius to great undertakings,

for which genius is in itself sufficient ; yet it constantly directed the course of human efforts, and often supported enterprise in its struggle with the obstacles and difficulties of the world. Thus we read in William of Nangis, that three years after the period of which we are now speaking, Benedict, who constructed the famous bridge over the Rhone at Avignon, when he first presented himself with his plan in that city : then a young and obscure man, without any apparent means to execute the immense task which he undertook : declared and undoubtedly believed that he had been inspired by God for the accomplishment of his vast design. Sustained by this idea, he persevered in the attempt, although the people of the city turned him into ridicule ; and at length, winning converts by his own confidence and enthusiasm, he accomplished one of the greatest works of the age in which he lived.

The influence of superstition, however, seems to me to have been considerably decreased before the end of the reign of Henry the Second, although there were still many gross and absurd acts committed under the sway of that powerful spirit.

Civilization had also made great progress in other directions ; though here, also, a thousand instances might be adduced to show that the people of Europe were still in a very savage and uncultivated state. Henry himself, notwithstanding his usual lenity, occasionally gave way to acts the most

barbarous and disgraceful. We have seen him in the war with Welsh princes, mutilate his hostages ; and, in his contention with his sons, ravage and destroy part of his own territories in Anjou, as if they had been those of an enemy. Notwithstanding these facts, however, though superstition was of course not extinguished, yet it had less power and less extension,—and though barbarism still displayed itself from time to time, men recovered sooner from the convulsions into which it occasionally cast them, and learned to be ashamed of acts in which they at one time gloried. Upon the whole I do not believe that a period of forty years selected from any other portion of modern history, will show so great a change in society as that which was effected between the years 1140 and 1180.

BOOK III.

SOCIETY never returns to the same state after it has been violently moved. All great convulsions leave effects behind them, which operate long after they themselves are over; and immediate consequences are always mingled more or less with evil, even when the ultimate results are in the highest degree beneficial. The eruption of a volcano, or the concussion of an earthquake, sometimes tends to fertilise the ground, and produces riches and abundance after a certain lapse of time; but in the meanwhile, loss, inconvenience, and often destruction, ensue; and no one can doubt that the calm, ameliorating progress of nature's ordinary advance is far preferable to rude and sudden changes of any kind.

The insurrection of Henry's children, however, was not accompanied by benefits of any kind that we can discover, and the evil consequences remained long after the rebellion itself was suppressed. It was only in Aquitaine that these consequences

extended so far as to affect the history of Richard in any degree; and I shall therefore pass over as briefly as possible the events that followed the war in other parts of Henry's dominions without entering into any minute investigation of the causes or the circumstances.

A number of castles belonging to rebel leaders were thrown down or dismantled; the fortresses which the King of Scotland had pledged himself to give to Henry, were duly delivered into the hands of his officers. The nobles and clergy of England met their sovereign in parliament at Westminster, and on every occasion testified their entire submission to his will, and their firm purpose of maintaining inviolate the peace which had been so happily restored. The Archbishop of Canterbury adopted the best means for withdrawing the clergy from the grasp of the constitution of Clarendon, by enacting such regulations as were calculated to free them from those vices which put them within the power of that code.

Whether Henry was the agent or the instrument, certain it is that the superstition of the age, which had once acted so unfavorably to his views, now had a contrary effect. The happy change which had taken place in his fortunes immediately after his visit to the shrine of Thomas à Becket, was attributed by the people, and perhaps in some degree by the King himself, to the intercession of the martyr. The monarch encouraged the idea; and shortly

after his return from France, he visited the tomb of the Archbishop, whose sanctity had not been affected by the conflagration of the pile in which his body reposed. Henry evidently showed an inclination to adopt Becket as his tutelary saint; and thus, with great success—whether from wisdom or weakness is uncertain—he turned the miracles of the martyr's tomb to his own advantage.

His presence in England, and the fortune which seemed to attend all his measures, overawed his enemies in every quarter; and the King of Scotland came unresistingly with the nobles and prelates of his realm, to do homage to the King of England, according to agreement. This ceremony took place at York, on the 10th of August, and the concourse of people must have been immense; for we are told that the Scottish monarch brought with him the bishops, earls, barons, knights, and freeholders of his kingdom, from the greatest to the least, in order that the complete subjection of the land might be clear and indisputable.

Not long after, the English sovereign was visited at Windsor, by the ministers of Roderick King of Connaught, who sent them to negotiate a treaty of peace with Henry, and entrusted them with powers to submit the crown of Connaught, which had hitherto been held supreme in Ireland, in a formal and distinct manner to the monarch of the neighbouring island. Some sort of tribute, we are told, had been previously paid by Roderick, but the

accounts thereof are indistinct and doubtful. We now find, however, a distinct treaty, recognising Henry's sovereignty over the whole of Ireland, conceding to Roderick the territory of Connaught as king under Henry. The Irish prince was to hold himself always ready to serve the King of England as his vassal, and was to pay him a tribute. The treaty goes on to provide, that the whole of the rest of Ireland, with the exception of those parts which Henry retained as his own demesne lands, or as grants to the English barons who had commenced or aided in the subjugation of the neighbouring country, was to be under the supreme dominion of Roderick. The districts excepted, however, comprised Dublin, Wexford and Waterford, each with a large tract of territory attached, as well as the rest of Leinster and Meath. All the petty sovereigns of Ireland brought under the sceptre of Roderick were to pay their tribute to the King of England through the hands of the former, and were to be compelled by him to discharge that tribute, and perform their other engagements towards Henry. In case of need, Roderick was to be supported by the forces of the King of England and his constable in Ireland; and the aid thus promised, seems to have been the only equivalent held out to the Irish monarch for the great concessions that he now made.

Roderick, however, obtained one more advantage of no slight importance, which was the termination

of a war that had already proved disastrous to him, and which, now that Henry was delivered from the intestine dissensions that followed the revolt of his sons, must soon have overwhelmed the King of Connaught, if he had not obviated it by negotiations with the English sovereign.

It is not possible here to afford any detailed account of the long series of savage hostilities which had taken place in Ireland since the breaking forth of the rebellion against Henry. They had commenced, it would appear, by a treacherous attempt on the part of the chieftain O'Ruarke, or O'Rourke, to murder in cold blood Hugh de Lacy, who had been left as the king's locum-tenens in Ireland. The attempt was frustrated by the wit and courage of a gallant young Welsh knight, named Gryffyth, the nephew of the famous Maurice Fitzgerald. Suspecting the designs of the Irish in a conference proposed between O'Ruark and De Lacy, he took judicious precautions against them, and attacking O'Ruark himself, as soon as his treachery had become indubitable, at the moment he was about to mount his horse after having attempted to kill De Lacy with his battle-axe, he pierced both horse and man by one stroke of his lance, casting them dead upon the earth together. The head of the deceitful prince was struck off, and placed upon the gate of the castle of Dublin as a warning to others; and he certainly met with a just reward for his treachery, although his enmity towards the English was by no means unprovoked.

From this period, hostilities continued, with various success on both parts, during the whole of the wars between Henry and his sons. The Earl of Pembroke, it would appear, was the aggressor on one or two occasions; and afterwards, being called away from that country to serve his own king in Normandy, he left his enemies the opportunity of confederating for the purpose of his destruction. On his return, he not only found a powerful combination amongst the Irish princes to throw off the English yoke, but he was also embarrassed by the scantiness of his finances, a mutinous spirit in his troops, and the too great popularity of one of his principal supporters, Raymond Fitzgerald; who, to the shining character of a gallant and accomplished knight, added attractions which were in the eyes of the inferior soldiers no less desirable in a leader—an enterprising and adventurous spirit, a boundless liberality, and an unscrupulous love of plunder. In addition to all this, Fitzgerald was madly in love with the sister of the Earl; and Strongbow did not choose that one who was already in some degree his rival, should be still further elevated by alliance with his own family. It may be easily conceived, that in these circumstances the power of the English for some time declined, while that of the Irish increased; and the Earl of Pembroke having formally refused his sister to Fitzgerald after a fortunate expedition made by the latter, Raymond retired indignantly into Wales, leaving the Earl to his fate.

As soon as he was gone, Pembroke put himself at the head of his forces, and marched to Cashel, in order to attack Cork. A large body of his troops, however, was surprised at Ossory, on its march to join him, and was nearly cut to pieces by the enemy; and about the same time tidings reached the Earl that armies were gathering to oppose him in every quarter. Pembroke was enabled to effect a hasty retreat to Waterford; but, almost the whole of Ireland had already risen in arms against the English power. Chieftain after chieftain marched to attack him in the place where he had sought refuge; and Roderick, King of Connaught, raising a large force, entered Meath, which had been left unprotected. Hugh de Lacy having gone over to England to support the party of his own sovereign against the rebels, by whom he was at this time assailed, the situation of the Earl of Pembroke was most lamentable. Dublin itself was menaced; the inhabitants of Waterford waited but an opportunity to rise against the English, and join their fellow-countrymen without; and Strongbow had no resource but to call Raymond Fitzgerald back to his aid, promising him the hand of the lady that he loved. To a knight of those days, such an inducement was irresistible. Raymond waited not to collect a large force in Wales; but taking one-and-thirty knights who were with him, a body of one hundred men-at-arms, and three hundred Welsh foot, he cast

himself into the first vessels that he could find, and sailed at once for Waterford. The wind was favorable and strong,—the banners of England were displayed on the masts of the adventurer,—and his little fleet entering the port of Waterford in full sail, appeared just in time to overawe the citizens, and save the English garrison from destruction. The grateful Earl and his old companion-in-arms marched out in triumph to Wexford, and there Pembroke immediately bestowed upon Fitzgerald the promised hand of his sister Basile. Their marriage was such as might well befit chivalrous times; for on the morrow of his wedding-day, Fitzgerald led forth his troops to attack the King of Connaught, and with extraordinary rapidity recovered the whole county of Meath. He then turned towards the strong city of Limerick; and though it was defended by massy walls, by a powerful force, and by the river Shannon, he determined to attack it with one hundred and twenty knights, three hundred light-armed horsemen, and four hundred archers. The deep river was forded,—the town assailed; the Irish, astonished at such inconceivable boldness, abandoned the defence, scarcely striking a blow,—and Limerick was taken with a terrible slaughter of the citizens.

Representations had been made in the meantime to Henry against the character of Fitzgerald, which were in some degree just, and the English monarch sent over envoys to bring that leader into Normandy;

but just as he was on the eve of setting sail, fresh efforts were made by the Irish, the troops of the Earl of Pembroke refused to act without the presence of Raymond, and the messengers of Henry unwillingly consented that he should remain. Once more Fitzgerald led forth his troops to conquer; with a handful of men he attacked O'Brien Prince of Limerick, strongly entrenched in a pass not far from Cashel, forced the barriers which had been raised against him, routed the troops of the enemy, and relieved Limerick, which had been attacked. Struck with these successes and some others which followed, the Irish princes declared their inclination to submit; and the embassy of Roderick King of Connaught, in the autumn of 1175, was one of the principal results of Raymond Fitzgerald's victorious career.

Thus were the two neighbouring kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland rendered fiefs of the crown of England; so that the whole extent of these islands was now more or less under the dominion of one man, Wales having long been subjected to the same sway. In that country, indeed, some disturbances had taken place, though but very slight. All had remained at peace so long as Rees ap Gryffyth, to whom Henry confided the powers of Grand Justiciary in South Wales, continued on the spot, for he had executed the trust reposed in him with zeal and fidelity; but the moment that he was summoned to attack the fortress of Tutbury, on behalf of Henry,

an inferior lord named Jorwarth (to whom, as I have before shown, deep offence had been given at the time that Henry was called from Ireland into France) broke out into rebellion again, and captured the strong town and castle of Caerleon upon Usk, which had formerly belonged to him. Previous, however, to receiving the homage of the King of Scotland at York, Henry and his son had held a parliament at Gloucester, for the purpose of securing the tranquillity of the adjacent parts of Wales, and to this assembly Rees ap Gryffyth persuaded Jorwarth and all those persons who had joined with him in his rebellion, to go voluntarily, in the hope of obtaining pardon and favour as a result of their submission. Henry fulfilled to the utmost the promises which Rees ap Gryffyth had made. He left Caerleon in the hands of Jorwarth, received the homage of the rest, and in order to insure peace to the country as far as oaths would go, he caused all the chieftains of Wales there present to confederate by a solemn vow, engaging mutually to defend each other in case of attack by any of the other Welsh princes.

Thus throughout the whole of his dominions Henry's power seemed secure,—and yet, strange to say, at this period he displayed apprehensions for his personal safety which he manifested at no other time. During his whole life hitherto he had gone from place to place but scantily attended, and all persons could gain admission to his

person at reasonable hours ; but a change now came over his feelings. It is true that confidence lost can never be recovered,—that when we find we have been deceived in those we have trusted,—that neither the bonds of gratitude, nor of honor, nor of kindred, have power to bind the passions of men, we never can feel that full reliance again upon any human being which we once entertained in the days of happy inexperience, and our shaken trust leaves us uncertain and doubtful of where to find faith on earth, or truth amongst the children of men.

Whether it was this loss of confidence alone that made the King apprehensive of danger, or whether any private intimations were given to him that the peace which seemed fully restored, was in reality hollow, and that the rebels whom he had forgiven wanted but opportunity to renew their insurrection ; or whether the murmurs reached his ear which were either unjustly excited by the demolition of some of those fortresses which had been used only to resist himself, or were called forth with better cause on account of the severities he exercised on all who had violated his severe forest laws, cannot be told ; but it is certain that he caused proclamation to be made, forbidding such persons to come to his court as had taken part in the late insurrection, unless summoned by himself ; that he established regulations in regard to strangers and visitors lingering about the precincts of the palace at unusual hours ; and that

he forbade the use of common arms—such as the bow—which in those days were seldom out of the hand of the English yeoman.

It is not improbable, indeed, that the regulation in regard to the bow and other weapons of a similar character, had more immediately for its object to preserve the lives of the King's deer than his own. During the insurrection, either from the want of power to restrain the people, or for the purpose of detaching them from the rebels, the King's forests had been left almost entirely free for any one who might think fit to take the game contained therein; and it is even asserted by the best contemporary writers, that Richard de Lucy the Grand Justiciary openly produced a letter from the King authorising him to throw open all the royal forests of England to the people. Notwithstanding such motives for moderation, however, Henry proceeded against those who had transgressed the forest laws, in a severe and cruel manner, causing a strict inquisition to be made into all cases of trespass on his woodlands, and authorising the judges appointed for the trial of such causes to take hearsay evidence against the accused.* In this unpopular

* The words in which Diceto mentions these facts are as follows :—*‘Inquisitio generalis facta per Angliam pari discrimine Comites, Barones, milites, privatorum quoque multitudinem infinitam involvit. Omnes quidem hi juris jurandi religione minus reverenter artati, modo regi, modo justiciariis publicarunt quos à tempore dissensionis inter regem patrem et filium habitæ vitæ ferarum insidias tetendisse vel auditu solo perceperant. Hoc ergo*

proceeding he displayed none of the better qualities which distinguished him, except impartiality. The loyal and the rebellious were treated exactly in the same manner, and according to the magnitude of their offence were punished with death or maiming, or pecuniary amercement. The latter, indeed, was the course which the King so frequently adopted, that writers have suspected he was moved less by indignation for the violation of his rights, than by the desire of remedying the penury of his treasury. Whatever was the cause, Henry's conduct was most unpopular through the whole transaction; and the course of proceeding which he permitted or ordered was evidently unjust, and calculated to bring condemnation on the innocent. Whatever might be the motive, it was ungenerous and unwise, to punish offences of such a character, which had taken place in times of general disorder and anarchy; and, if the object was to wring from his people fresh supplies of money by the means employed, no words are sufficient to express the reprobation which such conduct deserved in the case of one who knew what was just so well as Henry the Second.

Such a view of Henry's behaviour on this occa-

prætextu multi clericorum quos sola fama resperserat, venatoriis occupationibus irretitos fuisse, jussu vicecomitum ad forum civile pertrahebantur; archiepiscopo vel episcopis non reclamantibus. Quorum quidam ut regiam indignationem evaderent offerentes pecuniam audiebantur.

sion is entirely distinct from the consideration of whether the forest laws were in themselves just or unjust. The vague and illogical pieces of declamation which have been current against the preservation of game by kings and private persons on their own lands, scarcely require refutation; for so long as the idea of property exists, so long must it be admitted, that each man has a right to apportion a part of that which he possesses for the purpose of his own amusement and recreation. It might, indeed, be objected, and justly, in countries where a dense population exists, that the occupation of large tracts of ground by forests, reserved for the purposes of the chace, produces a general evil, by withdrawing soil from cultivation, the continuance of which no individual right can justify. But the case of a dense population and a scanty soil did not exist in those days; and even if it had existed, we must recollect that, the principal fuel of the whole country consisting at that time of wood, much larger forests were then absolutely necessary than are now required for the mere supply of timber. Wherever the forests did exist, there the right of the proprietor to the animals of all kinds which were fed and nourished therein, was as clear and distinct as the right of a grazier to his sheep or other cattle, or that of the agriculturist to the corn which he has grown. The distinction between the wild and the tame is a mere subtlety, unworthy of the law, and is still less applicable to those days,

when the beasts were not migratory, but were kept in particular tracts, tended with care, and often provided with food* besides that which the soil itself afforded them. There were, however, two considerations which, with perfect justice, might greatly affect the decisions of a lawgiver in regard to beasts of the chase; and those considerations would operate in the most opposite directions. The first of these was, the much greater difficulty of preserving this kind of property than almost any other; the second, the much greater temptation that existed to plunder it on every occasion. The legislators of those times seem to have directed their attention solely to the first of these considerations, and, consequently, to have endeavoured to guard those objects which were naturally exposed, by sanguinary and cruel laws, which, as all cruel laws must be, were without effect. If it were an ascertained fact, that man could be deterred from crime by the fear of punishment, the severest laws would be the most merciful; for by them alone we could hope, by preventing the offence, to spare the chastisement. But if it be recognised, as is now very generally the case, that lenient laws, firmly administered, afford the surest means of arriving at the least possible portion of evil, then we must recur to the first

* The deer were, for many ages, during the first and second race of French monarchs, regarded exactly as domestic animals; and in the laws and regulations of those times, we find them spoken of with the cow and the horse.

principles of justice, and, in apportioning the punishment, weigh the temptation with the crime.

The lawgivers of Henry's time, however, in the infancy of a science regarding which much is still to be learnt in our own day, could hardly be expected to arrive at conclusions which are, unfortunately, only furnished by experience. To guard, therefore, the property of the lord of the soil in the beasts which it fed, they rendered the laws severe in proportion to the facility of infringing them. No forests, however, could ever be fenced round by fears; and in the endeavours, on the one part, to snatch the forbidden pleasure, and, on the other, to preserve the law, frequent crimes occurred of a still more serious character than the infraction of the rights of property. Scarcely, indeed, had Henry returned to England, when a case of this kind was brought before him. Four knights were charged at Woodstock with having killed one of his foresters, doubtless in some dispute regarding the royal chace. The facts, it would seem, were proved, and the criminals were condemned by the King and hanged without mercy.

Wherever he went the King pursued the same course of severity, showing especial harshness at Nottingham, and the districts adjacent to any of the large forests belonging to the crown. He was in general willing, however, to accept a pecuniary fine instead of corporeal punishment; and by this means

he replenished the royal treasury, while he chastised those who had infringed the law.

In the course of these proceedings, he wrung large sums of money from the clergy, who were in general passionately fond of the chace. From being a pleasure forbidden to their order by the church discipline of the day, it was, of course, the more desired; and there is every reason to suppose, that they had offended in this particular more than any other class of the monarch's subjects. The monkish writers complain vehemently of the King's extortions; and the clergy, it would seem, appealed to Cardinal Hugo, or, as many authors write it, Huguson, who at that time came into England as legate à latere, to settle various matters in dispute between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. Cardinal Huguson, however, gave no protection to the monks and priests whose unlawful pastimes had called on them the indignation of the King. His want of consideration for his clerical brethren in this respect, might proceed from one or two causes. In the first place, the Church of Rome had strictly prohibited all the clergy from following the sports of the field; and in the next place, the purse of the legate being somewhat empty, it is more than probable that Henry assisted to fill it, employing for that purpose the very fines of which the ecclesiastics complained. Certain it is, that Hugo himself, in the various tours which he made through different parts of the coun-

try, added not a little to the burdens which the church already endured, by extorting, we are assured, large sums from abbeys and monasteries upon different iniquitous pretences.

The Cardinal's residence in England, was at length brought to a close in a somewhat disgraceful and unpleasant manner. A synod was summoned by the King, to meet at Westminster on Midlent Sunday, in the year 1176, and the legate pompously announced that he was about to declare to the assembly the mandates and precepts of the Supreme Pontiff. On the day appointed, at the very opening of the hall, a most scandalous scene took place between the Archbishops of York and Canterbury. Each claimed the right hand of the legate; and the Archbishop of York, it would seem, gained the advantage so far, as to seize upon the station he desired, before the other prelate could occupy it. The Archbishop of Canterbury remonstrated; and while he was endeavouring to make his opponent give up the place which he had taken, all the monks of Canterbury who were present, and all the attendants upon the primate, rushed upon his rival, threw him down, beat him severely, and broke his mitre. Several of the bishops assisted in this outrage; and the legate rising, dissolved the assembly, declaring that he would bring the scene he had witnessed under the cognizance of the Roman Pontiff.

The Archbishop of York, on his part, summoned

the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely to the presence of the Pope, and then left the hall; while the monks of Canterbury showed clearly in what feelings the tumult had arisen, by shouting after the prelate as he retired, "Go, go, betrayer of St. Thomas; your hands still smell of blood."

It is scarcely possible to conceive that a man in general so mild and placable as the Archbishop of Canterbury, should promote an assault of such a disgraceful character; though it would seem that he certainly made an effort to assume his right place, which was but too violently seconded by those who saw in the Archbishop of York nothing but the enemy of the popular saint of Canterbury. Notwithstanding the strong inclination shown at this period to plunge the Church of England into new disputes, Henry subsequently prevailed upon the two Archbishops to meet in a synod at Winchester, where the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had previously found means to mitigate the indignation of the legate, effected a reconciliation with the Archbishop of York on somewhat singular terms.

They mutually took an oath, that they would suspend all enmity and anger towards each other for five years, which was certainly a most unchristian way of terminating an unchristian quarrel. The cardinal legate, in the meantime, had retired from England into Normandy, and thence returned to Rome, leaving behind him neither the purest

personal reputation, nor the most favorable impression of the integrity of the papal court.

The real cause of the legate's coming to England is in some degree doubtful; for one of the historians of the time, namely, the Monk of Canterbury, informs us, that Henry entertained a design at this period of divorcing his wife Eleanor, whom he still held strictly imprisoned, and for whom his aversion had undoubtedly not diminished since she had contrived to incite his sons to rebel against his authority. It would seem by the account of Gervase, that Henry sought the presence of a legate in England, in order to open negotiations regarding this delicate transaction, and that he took every means of corrupting Huguson, and bringing him over to his own views. Did Gervase state this as a positive fact, the proceedings affecting which he had witnessed, I might be inclined to give credit to the statement; but as he speaks only of a design conceived in the breast of Henry himself, and never put into execution, I am inclined to suspend my belief in the statement till I find it confirmed by other authorities. None such have I hitherto met with; and it seems so improbable Henry should conceive a project, the execution of which must have been completely destructive of the grand political scheme of his whole life, that it would require a great mass of evidence to remove the doubts which naturally present themselves. In the first place, the monarch could not have divorced himself from

his Queen on any pretext which the Church of Rome would admit, except that of consanguinity. Such a plea, though not operating to bastardize his children according to the English law, must have had that effect according to the law of France. Normandy indeed might have been secured, and Brittany was the portion of his son's wife; but Anjou and Maine could not have been transmitted to his descendants without inevitable wars, and difficulties innumerable. Poitou and Aquitaine would have been immediately separated from the crown of England; for Henry could not be so weak as to imagine, that the King of France would regard the investiture of those territories which he had given to Richard, as conferring a stronger right than that which he had himself possessed as the husband of Eleanor, and which he had faithfully resigned as soon as his divorce from the princess was pronounced. In dissolving his marriage, therefore, with the Queen, Henry must have restored to her the vast possessions which she had inherited from her father; and there could be very little doubt in his mind, that the indignation of a slighted woman would produce results most disastrous in the uncertain state of European politics at the time. Henry himself, however prone he might be occasionally to give way to passion, was not a man to suffer his anger so far to overcome his prudence, as considerately and deliberately to take those means of revenging himself upon his wife,

which would at the same time have the most pernicious effect upon his own situation; and indeed, the very measures that he was actually employing to chastise Eleanor for her share in the late conspiracy, were far more severe than those which Gervase supposes he now proposed to adopt. He held her already in strict imprisonment; and surely it is absurd to say that he sought to punish her farther by setting her at liberty, and putting her in possession of one quarter of all France.

If we are to credit the tale at all, some strong motive must be suggested, totally independent and distinct from Henry's indignation against the Queen; nor have the imaginations of historians failed to seek, amidst the scandal of the day, for other inducements. Lust, however, could hardly be the incentive, for Henry was not a man to suffer his union with Eleanor to restrain, even in the slightest degree, his passion for other women.

We are told, indeed, that his purpose was to marry the Princess Alice, or Alais, the daughter of the King of France, who had been promised to his son Richard at the conferences of Montmirail in the year 1169; but there are various causes for supposing that such a statement is quite visionary. The Princess Alice was the daughter of Louis by his third wife, Adelaide of Champagne, whom he married in the autumn of the year 1160, after the death of Constance of Castile. I cannot discover at what precise period she was born; but it would seem

probable that the statement of Mon. Henault is right, and that the eldest child of Louis the Young by his third wife, was Philip, afterwards known as Philip Augustus, in which case, Alice, who was the eldest of his two daughters by that wife, could not have come into the world earlier than the autumn of the year 1166, Philip having been born in the autumn of the year 1165. Cardinal Huguson arrived in England in the latter part of 1175 ; so that at this time, Alice of France could have been but nine years old, and between eight and nine when Henry sent to demand the presence of a legate. Thus at the time we speak of, love for the princess could have no part whatsoever in the proceedings of Henry, if the statement be correct that the birth of Alice did not precede that of her brother. I shall have occasion to show hereafter, however, what are the causes for believing that some mistake may have taken place on this point. At all events, the princess, at the period when Henry sent for the legate, could not have been much more than thirteen years of age, even supposing that she was the eldest child of Louis by Adelaide of Champagne ; and it is scarcely possible to imagine, that however fierce and violent might be the passions of Henry, he could have conceived such a desire of marrying a mere child as to lose sight entirely of every consideration of policy, prudence, and good sense. I cannot help therefore believing, that historians in general have been deceived in regard to the views with which

Huguson was brought to England; and there is certainly not the slightest historical ground for stating, as many authors have stated, that, at this period, Henry's intentions towards the Princess Alice* were anything but perfectly pure.

During the stay of the Legate in England, a council was held at Northampton, on the 2nd of February, 1176; in which, with the advice of his eldest son and all the nobles and prelates of the realm, Henry confirmed the constitutions of Clarendon, much to the horror and indignation of the monks of Canterbury. It would seem, that no sooner had this been done, than the outcry of the monasteries became great, and that Huguson himself joined in requesting the King to abandon those parts of the statutes of Clarendon which brought the clergy under the secular arm. Henry would not consent to annul the constitutions, and we consequently find no law to that effect; but at the same time, he is reported by Diceto, who seems to me in every respect worthy of credit, to have given the legate a letter for the Pope, in which he stated:—"That out of love for the Church of Rome, as well as for Alexander himself, and at the solicitation of the legate, he had granted, notwithstanding the opposition of the principal people of his realm, that certain 'articles should be observed in his kingdom,' which were to

* This princess is called by various writers Alix, Alais, and Adalais or Adelaide; but her name, according to modern use, is simply Alice.

the effect,—that no clergyman should be taken before any lay judge, except for offences against the forest laws, and in cases where a lay fief held by the clergy was concerned; that no vacant bishoprics or abbeys should be held in the King's hand for more than a year, unless on account of some urgent necessity or some evident cause; and, moreover, that the wilful and premeditated slaying of the clergy, when proved by conviction or confession before the King's Justiciary, '*the bishop or his official being present,*'* besides the usual punish-

* It is worthy of remark that Mr. Berington—who has written a book which shows, amongst other curious things, how flat the pompous language of Gibbon would be without his powers of thought, and how dull his sarcastic forms appear without the wit that animated them—has translated the whole of the King's letter as it appears in Diceto, except the very important words, which I have printed in italics, and which he has thought fit to omit entirely. In taking them into consideration, we must never forget, that the clergy were strictly forbidden from being present at any judgment which went to the shedding of blood, and that therefore this clause, omitted by Mr. Berington, affected the concessions made by Henry in a very extraordinary manner. It was, evidently, the object of the King to drive ecclesiastics by various inconveniences to abandon voluntarily those privileges for which they strove. If a clergyman was murdered, the case must either have been brought to the court of the King's Justiciary, which could punish with death or loss of limb, or it must remain in the clerical court, as when the murderer was a clergyman; but the King exacted, that before the full punishment he assigned to the crime could be awarded, the clergy should take part in the proceedings of the secular court, which was the first step towards bringing them under the secular jurisdiction. If

ment for the murder of a layman, should be attended by the criminal's forfeiture of all inheritance by himself and his heirs for ever ; and, moreover, that the clergy should not be compelled to undergo trial by battle."

This concession was by no means so important as it seems, for Henry so framed it as to have a tendency to bring the clergy to seek rather than oppose any longer the execution of the constitutions of Clarendon. The obligations imposed upon the bishop or his official to be present on trials, in secular courts, where the murder of a clergyman was concerned, could have but one of two effects,—either to make the clergy abandon the regulation which prevented them from appearing in cases affecting the life or limbs of the accused, or else to leave offences committed against ecclesiastics almost altogether unpunished. Henry was too wise and too just to retaliate upon the clergy, which he might have done on the very first opposition offered by Becket. He might have openly put them altogether beyond the protection of those laws which they themselves refused to recognise ; and the argument would have been unanswerable if he had said, "When a clergyman refuses to submit his own actions towards

they refused so to take part in the proceedings, they left the matter just where it was before ; and it is shown by a letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, written about this period, that the clergy who claimed immunity from the penalties of the secular law, derived little protection from it.

others to a certain court, how can he expect that court to take any cognizance of the actions of others towards him? It is he who virtually outlaws himself. I concede to him the privilege of doing so if he likes it; but if he requires me to protect him, he must recognise my laws in full." But Henry knew that if he pronounced such an ordinance, however just, a terrible massacre of the clergy would assuredly take place, and he was never inclined to sanguinary proceedings. Without declaring the principle, then, upon which he acted, he left the law regarding the presence of a bishop or his official, in cases concerning ecclesiastics, to have its natural effect, and suffered the immunities which the clergy claimed to galling them.

Thus at an after period we find the Archbishop of Canterbury declaring, "If a Jew, or the meanest layman be murdered, sentence of death is immediately pronounced against the murderer; but if a clergyman, whatever is his rank, be murdered, the church, content with excommunicating the murderer, does not call in the aid of the material sword;" and further, "the King claims to himself the vengeance of such enormous crimes, but we, at the risk of our salvation, reserve it to ourselves; the effect of which is that impunity is established, and the swords of the laity are whetted by us against our own throats."

It is true that Henry did not altogether suffer offences against ecclesiastics to go unpunished; and

thus we find that, about this very time, he visited severely upon various persons injuries offered to men in orders. The clergy themselves likewise endeavoured to obviate the inconveniences, which Henry's regulations imposed upon them, by a hypocritical evasion of one of their own strictest regulations; frequently satisfying their consciences in regard to taking part in criminal trials, by withdrawing when the sentence was about to be pronounced.

Another point to be remarked in the concessions made by Henry to Cardinal Huguson is, that he still clearly and distinctly maintained the great principle of the constitutions of Clarendon; that great principle against which the priesthood had so vehemently struggled,—namely, that they were amenable to the secular courts. It is true that he only adheres to this point in regard to offences against the forest laws;* but having once established the right of trying them for any secular offence, it was evident that he would soon be able to bring them into his courts for all other but spiritual crimes.

At the parliament of Northampton, where the

* It seems from the words of Hoveden that Cardinal Huguson fully and entirely confirmed the laws of Clarendon, so far as regarded subjection of the clergy to the secular power, in cases of offences against the forest laws. He says distinctly,—“Prædictus autem Hugesun Cardinalis, et Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, dedit domino Regi licentiam implacitandi clericos regni sui, de forestis suis, et de captione venationis.”—*Hoveden*, p. 547.

constitutions of Clarendon were reënacted, a number of additional statutes and regulations were proposed by the King, and received the sanction of the Great Council. Amongst these a very important arrangement was made, by which the kingdom greatly benefited. The whole country was divided into six circuits for the regular administration of justice by itinerant judges; and though the number of circuits was afterwards reduced to four, this mode of carrying the law into effect in all parts of the land has descended to the present times with very little variation.* It appears to be ascertained beyond all doubt, that itinerant judges had been previously sent into various parts of the country, and that their functions were very similar to those ascribed to the persons now appointed. But it is also clear that their visitations were irregular, and that no certain districts were appointed to them. The division of the country into circuits, and the nomination of

* The laws enacted at Clarendon are generally known in history as the Constitutions of Clarendon; the confirmation of them by the Parliament of Northampton, including the additions made to them by the Council held in that city, is called "the Assize of Northampton." To each of the Six Circuits three Judges were appointed, and the whole is thus related by Hoveden. "Post natale domini in festo conversionis sancti Pauli venit dominus Rex pater usque Notingham, et ibi celebravit magnum concilium, de statutis regni sui, et coram Rege filio suo, et coram archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, et baronibus regni sui communi omnium concilio, divisit regnum suum in sex partes; per

certain persons to dispense justice therein, is a much more striking mark of the progress which

quarum singulas, tres justitios itinerantes constituit, quorum nomina hæc sunt.

1.	{ Hugo de Cressi Walterus filius Roberti Robertus Mantel	{ Norfolk. Sutfolc. Cantebrigesire. Huntedunesire. Bedefordesire. Bukinhamshire. Estsere. Hertefordesire.
2.	{ Hugo de Gundevilla Willielmus filius Radulfi Willielmus Basset	{ Lincolnesire. Notingamsire. Derebisire. Staffordesire. Warwikesire. Northamtesire. Leicestresire.
3.	{ Robertus filius Bernardi Richardus Giffard Rogerus filius Reinfray	{ Kent. Surre. Suthantesire. Suthsexa. Berkesire. Oxenefordsire.
4.	{ Willielmus filius Stephani Bertram de Berdun Turstani filius Simonis	{ Herefordisire. Gloucestersire. Wirecestersire. Salopesire.
5.	{ Radulfus filius Stephani Willielmus Ruffus Gillebertus Pipard	{ Wiltesire. Dorsete. Sumersete. Devonia. Cornubia. Everwikesire.
6.	{ Robertus de Wals Radulfus de Glanvile Robertus Pikenot	{ Richemundesire. Loncastre. Coylande. Westmerilande. Northumberlande. Cumberlande.

It will be remarked above that the name of the place where this parliament was held is written Nottingham instead of Northampton, whether from an error in the original manuscript or not I do not know, but it is afterwards corrected in the title of the Assize.

had been made in society, than is apparent at the first glance. The advance of civilisation is more strongly evinced, perhaps, by efforts for the establishment of regularity and order in all things, than by any other circumstance,—except, perhaps, the clear definition of rights.* At the accession of Henry the Second, little, if any, regularity existed in any proceedings. Society was issuing out of that state of uncertainty and confusion, which the rise of a completely new institution naturally produced; nothing was clear; nothing was ascertained; nothing was orderly. The vast multitude of tenures and the existence of allodial lands in the midst of feudal countries; the want of written laws, the diversity of customary laws, the uncertainty of the rules regarding succession, the extreme dubiety of every question affecting property, all show that society was at that time nothing in fact but a chaos, the elements of which were just beginning to separate themselves from each other, and take some form and order.

* My friend Dr. Taylor, in his excellent work on the Natural History of Society, observes, “that the primary element of civilization, according to the common sense of mankind, is progress, not from one place to another, but from one condition to another, *and always in advance.*” Without entering into the question whether *civilization* be a state or an action, I agree with him if by the words “in advance,” he means *towards improvement*, as, indeed, I am sure he does. There is no mistake more common however than to confound activity with energy, and suppose that movement is progress.

William the First, by his great statistical efforts, did indeed accomplish much to bring about or to restore a degree of regularity; but William Rufus saw many of the evils without removing them; and Henry the First contented himself with palliating existing inconveniences, without any view towards future improvement. Henry the Second, however, made vast efforts to effect a beneficial change; and there is evidently throughout all his proceedings, a tendency to establish the uniformity, order, and stability of laws and institutions, which afford to the mind of man the best assurance of peace, security, and justice.

Still we must not forget that he was but making the efforts, that he had not succeeded, that he was constantly frustrated by the passions and the ignorance of others, and that he was himself affected by the general inexperience of the age in the very science which was necessary to accomplish his purpose. He was like a man arranging various objects in a dark room,—and surely it is not at all wonderful that, such being the case, various things should be found amiss when a light is brought in. Many, nay most modern writers have forgotten this fact, and have expected to find regularity, and fixed forms, at least in the institutions which did exist. No such things, however, were then in being; and the very want of regularity itself was much more apparent than any other want, and a much greater evil also, for it brought a thousand others in its train.

Numerous instances have been given to exemplify this fact already. The greatest and most important territories seldom remained fifty years undisputed ; in a less space of time the county of Toulouse and many of its dependencies were three or four times not only the subject of controversy, but actually in possession of different persons who could show no right to them. Matthew, the brother of the Count of Flanders, obtained the county of Boulogne, by carrying off from a convent the daughter of Stephen. He sent her back to her convent and married another woman, but yet retained the county without dispute. The Lord of Porhoet laid claim to Brittany, in right of his wife, and apparently to the county of Richmond also, to neither which she had any right but that which she derived from her first husband, who was dead and had left a son. Many, however, supported his claim, and even after the death of his wife, the Lord of Porhoet still contended for the Duchy, and found people to aid him strenuously in making his claim good by the sword against her son. The same occurred in a thousand other instances, and everything showed that no ascertained rule was established in such cases. The illegitimate children succeeded in one part of the country, the legitimate only could inherit in another; and even the very names and titles by which people were known, changed from year to year, so that a prince was called Duke of Aquitaine or Brittany one day, Count of Poitou or Count of Brittany the

next.* Territories were granted this year which were resumed the year after ; and the fact of the barons often sealing treaties and deeds with the pommel of their swords, afforded no bad emblem of the manner in which such covenants were kept, for arms always had a share, and that the greatest, in the maintenance of every title and of every compact. It is in vain therefore that we endeavour to deduce the existence of certain rules from the acts of men living in a state the great characteristic of which was disorder, or attempt to reconcile anomalies with one another at a period when most things were anomalous. Rules, institutions, and laws, were forming themselves gradually, by the accumulation of precedents ; but in a thousand cases no established regulation as yet existed, and difficulties were decided for the first time

* I have noticed already some of these variations, and ere long I shall have to show, that in the case of Richard as great a change took place in the fact as in the name. Henry, apparently, never considered any of his engagements with his sons as permanent ; and not even the fact of receiving homage from them for a particular territory, which was the strongest feudal title that they could show, was regarded by that monarch, it would seem, as giving any right whatsoever to absolute possession of the lands. Lord Lyttleton has endeavoured by various suppositions to reconcile these acts with the general principles of justice, and, on the part of Henry, the laws of that day. But it seems to me that the effort to do so has been made perfectly in vain, and that the only explanation of such transactions is to be found in the passions and the purposes of the King, and the ill-defined and unascertained state of all rights and privileges at the time.

often by man's general sense of equity, but often by passion, violence, and fraud.

While the division of the country into circuits, the appointment of Judges to visit those circuits regularly, the definitions of the functions and powers of the Judges, and various other particulars set forth in the assize of Northampton, all showed the progress of society, and announced that an ameliorating spirit had gone forth to establish civil order and afford security to all, numerous other portions of the very same laws displayed in a striking and horrible manner the folly, the superstition, and the ignorance of the very first principles of justice, which yet overshadowed the age.

Into all the particulars of those statutes it is not my purpose here to enter. Suffice it as an exemplification of what I have just asserted, that the three ordeals, by water, by fire, and by battle, were now solemnly recognized and appointed by the law. That is to say, the peculiar sort or kind of evidence, which by no possibility could have any reference whatsoever to the cause tried, was admitted as conclusive in cases where life and death were concerned. To the honour of the Church of Rome be it spoken, the clergy as a body, had generally set their faces against this most iniquitous and absurd manner of judging; but princes and barons still retained it, clinging with the fondness of old habit to every remnant of the fierce and superstitious code which they had derived from their

ancestors; and the clergy themselves could hardly hope to do away such practices, when they were proceeding against heretics, and all persons from whom they differed in religious opinion, in a manner as unjust, cruel, and barbarous.

I must not pause to discuss these questions any further; but before I go on to notice the events in the life of Richard which took place rapidly, now that he had fully entered upon that active career from which he never drew back till the close of his life, it may be as well to notice briefly various proceedings which occurred in England and the neighbouring countries at this period, displaying in a remarkable manner, the spirit of the times and the character of the people.

About the time of which I now speak, several changes occurred in the domestic circle of Henry the Second, the effects of which were felt afterwards on many occasions. In the year 1175, a few months after Henry's return from France, his uncle Reginald, Earl of Cornwall, died. He was a natural son of Henry the First, and had shown very great attachment to his nephew, supporting his cause in periods of the utmost difficulty with his whole power and military skill. He lived to see the King triumphant over all his enemies, and to meet him on his return to England, but died almost immediately afterwards, in the commencement of the month of July. Another faithful servant of the monarch did not long survive the termination of the

insurrection in suppressing which he had taken a prominent part. This was Richard de Lucy the Grand Justiciary, who, worn out with labours in his master's service, and seeing peace fully reëstablished, retired shortly after to a convent which he himself had founded, and assuming the cowl spent the rest of his life in calm tranquillity, terminating his days peacefully in 1179. Universal respect and esteem followed his memory, and men honoured in him a brave and gallant knight, a skilful and successful general, a just though stern judge, a clear-sighted and prudent politician, and a faithful servant of his king and of his God. Some men have scoffed at him and at others, who—in those times, and with the feelings of those times—thought fit to pass the last years of their existence in monasteries; but it seems to me, that—while an opportunity of encouraging reflection, thought, and repentance is very necessary to those who have spent their days in vice and crime—a state of calm seclusion from worldly cares and anxieties, a gentle dis severing of earthly ties, a dedication of our last hours to the thoughts of that new condition to which we are approaching, is no ungraceful conclusion for a well-spent life.

If the loss of old, tried, and sincere friends can ever be said to receive compensation, the bereavement which Henry sustained by the death of the Earl of Cornwall and Richard de Lucy, was in some degree made up to him by the acquisition of

several new allies. His two unmarried daughters were, about this time, sought as brides by two European princes, of great distinction. One of these was Alphonso, King of Castile, a monarch who had distinguished himself in the wars which then, as now, continually desolated the Peninsula. The Princess Eleanor was finally united to him early in the year 1176, having been long betrothed. Joan, the youngest daughter, was also sought about this time by William, surnamed the Good, King of Sicily, who had rendered himself famous in the wars of Italy, constantly supporting the party of the Pope against the imperial faction. The lenity of his government and the equity which he displayed in the administration of justice, seem to have entitled him to the name which a grateful people bestowed; and the firmness with which he refused to wed the daughter of the Emperor when her hand was offered to him, on account of his engagements with the Pope, showed that stability of purpose and integrity of character, which rendered his alliance doubly desirable to a monarch surrounded by friends so little to be trusted as those whom Henry the Second had about him. The King of Sicily had also, it is said, refused the hand of another child of an imperial house, though it is doubtful whether the marriage, which was at one time proposed, between William and the daughter of Manuel Comnenus, was broken off by himself or by the Greek Emperor. At all events his reputation as a warrior and a politician were

at that time very high in Europe ; and there can be no doubt that Henry received with no slight pleasure, the ambassadors which he sent to demand the hand of the Princess Joan, in the year 1175. The Pope himself is supposed to have taken part in the arrangement of the alliance ; and the Bishop of Syracuse, who was an Englishman by birth, is also said to have had some share in promoting an event so desirable to his native sovereign. Rich presents were sent to England by the King of Sicily, as soon as it was known that the consent of Henry had been obtained to the match ; but the gifts were lost at sea, together with two Sicilian ships. In the year 1176, however, the young princess was sent to her husband, who received her joyfully, and settled on her a rich dowry. About the same time a marriage was negotiated between Henry's youngest son John, and Isabella, daughter of the Earl of Gloucester. The object of the King in promoting a match between that prince and the child of a subject, connected with his own royal house by not very desirable ties, namely those of illegitimate birth, was to secure the large possessions of the Earl of Gloucester to John. Some difficulties presented themselves ; but Henry promised to give portions to the amount of a hundred pounds yearly to the Earl's two married daughters, on condition that his cousin of Gloucester would settle upon Isabella the whole of his estates. The treaty was concluded ; but neither the bride nor bride-

groom being yet marriageable, the alliance was postponed.

Besides the ambassadors who came to England to negotiate the marriage of the King's two daughters, and the various princes who daily flocked to offer at the shrine of Thomas à Becket, envoys on a matter of considerable moment, added lustre to the court of Henry, about the period of which we now speak. The occasion of their being sent was a dispute between Sancho King of Navarre, and Alphonso of Castile, regarding some territories claimed by both those monarchs. Each, it would appear, had usurped a portion of his neighbour's kingdom; each refused to give up what he had taken; and the only agreement that they could come to was, to refer their quarrel to the decision of Henry, taking care, at the same time, to send two champions to his court to fulfil that part of the judicial system of the day, which in many such disputes required a trial by combat, in case the King of England should judge that resource necessary. In a chivalrous age, no greater compliment could be paid to any monarch than that of referring a cause of this kind to his arbitration.

The ambassadors arrived in the beginning of the year 1177, and the letter of Peter of Blois, Henry's secretary, giving him an account of their having landed, affords us a curious picture of Henry's habits. The writer laments therein the utter impossibility of finding out where the King was,

from the excessive rapidity of his movements; and adds to the four things which puzzled the wisdom of Solomon to discover, a fifth, which was to trace the path of the King in England. The letter reached Henry at length, however; and he immediately summoned a parliament to meet on the first Sunday in Lent, not choosing to decide so important a question without due deliberation. On the council being assembled, the ambassadors displayed their powers, and put in a Latin statement of their several masters' claims. They swore, also, that the two Kings should abide by the decision of Henry, which submission to his decree is provided for likewise by the treaty between Alphonso and Sancho, who had, moreover, placed in the hands of neutral parties, four strong places on each part, as security for the fulfilment of the arbitrators' sentence. In the statements made by the ambassadors, there was no denial that mutual usurpations had really taken place, and the decision of the King of England, which was given on the succeeding Sunday, seems to have been dictated by a strict sense of equity. He adjudged both parties to restore that which had been forcibly taken; and he likewise condemned his son-in-law, the King of Castile, to pay to the King of Navarre a certain sum of Spanish money yearly, for ten years.

This sum is stated in Rymer, to have been three thousand marabotins; but I am unable to say what

was the value of that coin, the name of which was probably derived from the Moorish word Marabout.

It very frequently happens that from the mere wording of state documents, we derive valuable information regarding the condition of the countries to which they refer; and it is worthy of remark, that one-half of the strong places given as security by the Kings of Castile and Navarre, are stated to be of, or belonging to, the Jews. We shall have occasion to notice hereafter, the state of the Hebrew nation in Europe at this period; but it would seem, that in Spain their treatment was much better than in any other country.

Shortly after the King's decision of this cause, he received intimation that the Count of Flanders was about to visit England, on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket, previous to his setting forth on his long proposed expedition to the Holy Land. That expedition, indeed, had been delayed, both by the consequences of his own cruelty, in the case of Walter des Fontaines, and also by a message from Henry himself, sent towards the latter part of the preceding year, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely. In the case of Walter des Fontaines, we are assured by the English historians, that a war had been the result of the Count's unjust conduct; the relations of the murdered man being powerful in the north of Europe, and taking arms universally to avenge his death. Other causes combined to raise up numerous ene-

mies against the Count; it was with great difficulty that the hostilities which ensued after his return from France could be brought to a conclusion;* and from 1175 till the end of the year 1176 the war continued and occupied the whole forces of the Count of Flanders. At length, however, a treaty was entered into by which he was left free to pursue his march towards Jerusalem; and he proposed to

* The Flemish historians, in general, pass over the stain upon the Count's memory, in regard to the death of Walter des Fontaines, very lightly; many of them not mentioning it at all. Neither do they connect it with the war which at this period took place between the Count and James of Avesnes and other noblemen, but attributed it entirely to a different cause. The historians of England, however, are diametrically opposed to such statements; and even in regard to the results of the war, D'Oudegherst says that the Count merely made war upon James of Avesnes, because that nobleman had rebelled against the Count of Hainault, his brother-in-law; and the learned editor Mon. Lesbroussart assigns another cause; namely, that James of Avesnes had murdered Robert, Bishop of Cambrai and Chancellor of Flanders. Now, before proceeding farther, it is necessary to remark that this Chancellor of Flanders is supposed to have been the person who instigated the Count to break his faith with Henry King of England. However that may be, Hoveden distinctly says, (page 546, ed. Saville,) that the sons of Walter des Fontaines, "with James of Avesnes and others of his relations, having prepared his castles, rose against the Count and devastated his territories with fire and sword, and thus at length compelled him to make satisfaction for the death of Walter des Fontaines." The Flemish historians, on the contrary, declare that James of Avesnes was forced to submit; but it seems from their whole account, that there is something concealed by them either from fear or favour.

set out about Christmas of the year 1176, when the message from Henry to which I have alluded reached him, holding out the expectation, that if he would delay his departure till the Easter of the following year, the English monarch would either accompany him in person, or give him aid of some kind in his expedition.

That Henry ever entertained the slightest intention of really taking the cross, I do not believe; but it is perfectly certain that on many occasions he asserted his determination of so doing, and deceived others as well as the Count with promises of joining them in their enterprises for the delivery of the Holy Land. It is probable therefore that the coming of the Count of Flanders to England at this moment, was not the most agreeable event in the world to the English monarch, although he had manifold reasons to assign for not fulfilling his engagement. We shall have occasion very soon to show what those causes were; and in the meanwhile it is only necessary to say, that Henry received the Count most graciously, furnished him with pecuniary aid, sent, or suffered to go with him, the Earl of Essex, and several other noblemen, with their retainers, and made such excuses for not accompanying him himself as were deemed sufficient by the Count.

It is not improbable that Henry was very willing to see some of his barons engaged in such distant and perilous expeditions; for it would seem that

by this time he had once more strong cause for entertaining suspicion of many of the principal persons in his dominions; but the gift of money which he made to the Count of Flanders, showed much more real kindness than the mere act of suffering any of his nobles to follow to the crusade. Notwithstanding all the exactions which had been made in consequence of breaches of the forest laws, the treasury of the King of England was by no means so well filled as before his unfortunate warfare with his sons, and several events had lately occurred to render it difficult to procure supplies from his people. Various pestilential diseases had afflicted England; one of which was an epidemic cough, by which many were destroyed; and in the years 1175 and 1176 another pestilence followed by a famine took place. Little money was to be found in the land, and at the same time Henry was compelled to enter into great expenses by the appearance of fresh dangers, and rumours of general disaffection throughout his dominions. Whether this disaffection had been produced by the severity he had exercised regarding every breach of the forest laws, or by other causes less apparent, we are not told; but we find that in the year 1176, the King thought fit to take possession of almost all the strong places belonging to his vassals, not only in England, but in Normandy. This was done with the advice of the council; and, consequently, as almost all the barons of the

land were themselves present, it is scarcely possible to suppose that the authors who state this fact could mean to comprise under the name *castle*, those fortified houses in which the nobility of the land then dwelt.* The act, however, did not tend to render the King popular; and, whether it originated in fears already well grounded, or gave rise to the discontent that followed, he had soon cause to apprehend that his eldest son was once more caballing against his authority, if not upon the eve of breaking out into insurrection against him.

It may now, however, be necessary to turn our attention towards the events which had lately occurred in Henry's continental dominions, and to trace the conduct of Prince Richard, who was now fully launched in that brilliant military career during which he won and merited the name of Cœur-de-Lion.

* Hoveden does not say that this was done by the advice of the council. His words are, "Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ pater saisivit in manu suâ omnia castella Angliæ et Normmniæ, tam Episcoporum quam Comitum et Baronum, et custodes suos in iis posuit."

BOOK IV.

WHEN Henry the Second returned to England, accompanied by his eldest and favourite son, he had left the two younger brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, occupied in the painful and dangerous task of demolishing, in the provinces assigned to them for their inheritance, those castles which had been either raised or strengthened to support them in rebellion. The operations of Geoffrey were attended with much less difficulty than those of Richard; for his claim to the obedience of the people of Brittany, in consequence of his alliance with Constance, was much stronger than that of his brother to the submission of Anjou and Poitou. The Bretons also, though a brave, hardy, and even contentious people, were not so light, irritable, and rebellious as those of Aquitaine, who at all periods of history have shown a factious and turbulent disposition, carrying many of the vices as well as the high qualities of the French nation

to an excess. With the latter Richard had to deal when he was dispatched by his father into the provinces south of the Loire, shortly before Henry returned to England in the year 1175.

Scarcely had the young prince entered upon the task, when he met with opposition of the most determined character. The flame of insurrection broke out in the extreme south, at a fortress called, by the writers of the day, *Castellonium above Agen*, which is generally translated Chatillon.* This castle was in the hands of a powerful noble of that part of the country, named Arnold de Boville, who gathering together a large body of his allies and followers, stored the place with everything that was necessary for resistance, and refused to surrender it on the summons of Richard. That prince however attacked it without delay or hesitation, though it seems to have been one of the strongest places in that part of France. The siege was long; for the only means of forcing the garrison to

* No place of the name of Chatillon that I can discover is to be found in the neighbourhood of Agen; and I was for some time inclined to believe that this fortress was one of the many places now called Castelnau, of which there is one in the vicinity of Albi. There is also, upon the Gers, a small town called Castera, which might be the fortress referred to; but if similarity of name be received as any guide, the small town of Castillonnez, in the Lot and Garonne, was meant by Hoveden, though why it should be called *supra* Agiens, I do not know, being below rather than above the latter town, from which it is distant about fourteen leagues.

submit was the employment of those large and cumbrous battering engines, which could not be constructed or removed with any great rapidity. During two months it detained the Prince before its walls; but at the end of that time it was obliged to surrender,* and the thirty knights by whom it was defended became prisoners of the English prince. I do not find that Richard, upon this occasion, exercised any severity against the insurgents who were thus placed in his power; but his farther progress was stopped by the rebellion of a number of other nobles in all parts of the provinces which had been left under his rule. The chief of these rebels was one of the most powerful lords of the whole territory, the Count of Angouleme, who, not contented with the strength of his castles, which were many, well fortified, and difficult of access, nor with a considerable native force, which he could at any time rally round him, engaged a large body of Brabançois to support him and his allies against the power of his sovereign, and showed a determination of resisting to the last extremity.†

* Lord Lyttleton has left it in doubt whether this castle was or was not taken by Richard, having recorded its resistance, and not its fall; but that Richard never quitted it until it did surrender, is placed beyond all possible doubt by the account of Hoveden.

† It is to be remarked, that Diceto, through all these transactions, styles Richard, Duke of Aquitaine, while Hoveden calls him uniformly Count of Poitou.

There can be very little doubt that the Count of Angouleme and his allies were encouraged to such a daring opposition of the royal power as much by a knowledge of the scanty forces which Richard had at command, as by contempt for a youthful prince, the vigour of whose arm they had not yet felt. Richard indeed was himself sensible that, without some assistance, he could do but little to repress the rebellion of Aquitaine; and consequently, leaving that province, he hastened towards England as soon after the surrender of the Lord of Boville as possible. Early in the year 1176, the future king took ship with his brother Geoffrey, and arrived at Southampton on Good Friday, the second of April in that year. The two princes hastened to Winchester, where their father's court was then resident; and Richard there laid the state of Aquitaine before Henry, and begged for immediate aid, to subdue the insurgents in that duchy, and Poitou.

In the meanwhile, the ambitious yearnings of the King's eldest son, Henry, had not suffered him to remain tranquil and contented in England, although his father had done everything not only to make him happy by reasonable means, but to satisfy the cravings of youthful vanity. Shortly before this time the monarch had paid his debts, which were large and had pressed heavily upon him; and he had likewise admitted him to share in all his public proceedings, though not perhaps

as an equal in power, yet certainly as his nearest counsellor and first vassal. All the King's acts are recorded as having been pursued by his advice, or pronounced in his presence, and with his consent; and it is evident that his father strove anxiously to remove every cause for that sort of restless jealousy which animated the bosom of his son. The young prince, however—instigated, some persons have supposed, by the preference of his wife for her native country, and some think, by his own desire of ruling even a less important territory, independent of his father—had made every effort and excuse to obtain Henry's consent to his quitting England, and had at length succeeded, by pretending a vehement desire of making a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella. The King's slow leave having been wrung from him, the younger Henry and the Princess Margaret had proceeded, about the end of Lent, to the town of Portsmouth, with the intention of embarking for Normandy. A contrary wind however detained them for some days in that port; but the same wind served to waft over Richard and Geoffrey; and the news which they brought to their father induced him immediately to call his eldest son back to Winchester.

It has been justly observed, that Henry showed consummate policy in seizing the present opportunity of plunging his eldest son into hostilities with that rebellious party which had previously given

him support. It is evident that Henry had cause to be doubtful of the young King's sincerity in regard to the proposed pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella; but if that prince really sought to journey thither, Aquitaine was directly in his way; and, at the same time, the company of Richard, who was bitterly exasperated against the insurgents, might, there was reason to believe, act as a check in preventing the younger Henry from being seduced once more into open rebellion by the persuasions of the rebels. The King accordingly not only called the elder prince to consult with himself, Richard, and Geoffrey, in regard to the subjugation of the revolted nobles, but he directed him to join with Richard in his military operations against them. It is true, that in so doing he gave to his second son an unwilling and tardy coadjutor; but to remedy this evil, he furnished Richard himself with a considerable sum of money, in order to levy fresh troops for the defence of the provinces committed to his custody.

A considerable force also was put under the command of the younger Henry; and after spending the festival of Easter with their father, the three princes passed over into Normandy, and there separated; the eldest hastening to Paris to waste his time in sports and amusements, while Richard hurried at once into Poitou, to make head against the enemy without delay. During his absence, it would seem, his Lieutenant, Theo-

bald Shabot, and John Bishop of Poitiers, had collected a considerable force, in order to oppose the bands of Brabançois, which had been called to support the Count of Angouleme in his rebellion; and Richard was very speedily in a situation to encounter the enemy in the field.* Though his numbers, we are assured, did not amount to more than one-fourth of those which the enemy could bring against him, he marched at once to meet the mercenaries, and encountered them in the neighbourhood of Barbezieux, where a battle immediately took place. The result was a complete victory on the part of Richard, the Brabançois being routed with great slaughter, and the way being left open for the offended prince to march on at once to attack the towns and castles belonging to the rebel lords. The fame he acquired by this exploit was very great; for the hireling bands he had vanquished were not

* Diceto does not mention that Richard was present at the battle with the Brabançois, but Hoveden and others of good authority distinctly state that he was so. In comparing the account of Diceto with that of other authors, I was for some time inclined to think that two battles had taken place, one before and one after the return of Richard, in the first of which Theobald Shabot and the Bishop of Poitiers commanded; but I am at length satisfied that but one battle was fought, which was that in the neighbourhood of Barbezieux, where Richard is proved to have been present in person. I have therefore adopted the account of Diceto in regard to the levying of troops by Shabot during Richard's absence, while I have relied upon the other authorities in regard to the battle itself.

only the pest of the country round, but had rendered themselves formidable by their skill and daring courage, which had in almost all previous instances obtained for them complete success.

Whatever might be the auguries which the Count of Angouleme drew from these events, the defeat and dispersion of his mercenary forces did not so far depress him as to render him willing to abandon the struggle which he had commenced. His own fortresses and those of his allies were strong and well garrisoned, and he prepared to offer a vigorous resistance at every point. No preparation was found available, however, against the fiery courage and military genius of the English prince. Without a moment's delay, Richard proceeded to carry the war into the territories of the Viscount of Limoges, not the least considerable of the insurgent barons; and, laying siege to a fortress called Aessa, he speedily forced it to surrender, although it was defended by a numerous body of soldiers, amongst whom were forty knights. No sooner was this conquest achieved, than the Prince marched against the great and important city of Limoges itself, which likewise proved unable to resist, and was taken as rapidly as the lesser fortress.

While Richard was thus marching from victory to victory, his brother Henry, after wasting much time in Paris, was advancing with slow and unwilling steps, to give him aid in Poitou. The news of his coming was undoubtedly agreeable to

Richard, whose mind was now wholly bent upon the reduction of his barons to obedience; and it would seem that he had forgotten any jealousy which he had formerly felt towards the heir-apparent of the throne, and hailed his approach with joy. From Limoges the victorious prince accordingly turned back to Poitiers, in order to join his forces to those led by his brother; but the only result of their united efforts was the fall of a town called Neufchatel, which could not be of any very great importance, as the site of it is now unknown.*

The season of the year was still favourable for military operations; but either Henry was unwilling to see Richard regain peaceable possession of their mother's territories, or some new dispute arose between them; for, contenting himself with the reduction of one unimportant place, the elder prince refused to proceed any farther; and, leaving his brother to pursue the war alone, in consequence of evil counsel, as the historian justly calls it, he retired into Normandy, taking his way back through Poitiers. A good deal of mystery hangs over the whole of this transaction; but there is some reason to believe that the quarrel between Richard and Henry, if such a quarrel really did take place at this time, originated in a communication made to one or both by the King their father; for we find that the elder prince, while leading back his forces towards

* It is probable that this place was Lussac les Chateaux, but the fact is by no means certain.

Normandy, caused his vice-chancellor, a respectable priest, named Adam de Chirkedun, to be seized in Poitiers and publicly scourged through the streets of that city, on the charge of having betrayed his secrets to the King, Henry the Second. It seems to be certain indeed that Adam de Chirkedun, who had been placed in the household of the younger Henry by his father, did write a letter informing the monarch that his eldest son had entered into close communication, if not with the actual rebels in Poitou, with many nobles whose faith was more than doubtful, that he was continually surrounded by persons inimical to his brother, and gave ear with dangerous facility to their persuasions and advice. One of his letters to this effect was intercepted and laid before the Prince whom he accompanied; and it was in vain that the unfortunate priest pleaded either his sacred character, his allegiance to his sovereign, or the duty which rendered it imperative upon all subjects to reveal any treason that they discovered. The young King was inexorable; and not only did he inflict with barbarous severity the punishment I have mentioned, but he caused it to be repeated in every city through which he passed on his way back to Normandy, where no other refuge was afforded to the unhappy victim than the walls of a prison.

There can be very little doubt that these events were connected with the separation which took place between the two brothers; and it is probable

that Richard, whose confidence in his own powers was great, and whose progress had rather been delayed than advanced by the feeble assistance given him by that prince, was in truth glad of his departure. No sooner indeed had the young King left him, than he advanced to the attack of a castle called by Hoveden, Mulinows.* The fortress yielded, as all others had done, before the vehement attack of Richard, and the garrison became prisoners of war. Angouleme† still remained to be taken, and the strong position of that town rendered it almost impregnable by any of the ordinary means of warfare in those days. It also fell, however, early in the autumn, though we do not know the particulars of the siege; but the fact that the noblemen within it—who comprised in

* Perhaps this was some place named Les Moulineaux, though I do not know any so called in Angoumois at present. There are two or three small towns of that designation in the north of France.

† Hoveden says, that the Count of Angouleme and all the principal insurgents were taken in the castle of Mulinows, and he makes no mention at all of the fall of Angouleme itself. We know, however, that Angouleme was taken by Richard; and the Abbot of Peterborough and others give us to understand that it was in that city that the Count and his friends were taken, which seems so much more probable than that they should risk every thing by shutting themselves up in a very inferior fortress, that I have adopted the latter account instead of that of Hoveden, especially as he does not mention Angouleme in the list, which he afterwards gives, of fortresses delivered by the Count to his conqueror.

their number all the principal insurgents of Poitou, —were compelled to surrender at discretion, shows with what vigour the assault had been conducted. By the fall of these last two places, William Taillefer, Count of Angouleme, Bulgar his son, called Viscount of Angouleme, the Viscount of Limoges, together with the Viscounts of Ventadour and Chabannes, and an immense number of knights and soldiers, fell into the power of Richard. Six other castles were immediately surrendered in consequence of the capture of Angouleme; and although the spirit of discontent was certainly not yet subdued, no force appeared in any part of the country to oppose the lion-hearted Prince of England, who had thus, at the age of nineteen, routed an army four times as numerous as his own, and in one single campaign had taken by dint of arms a number of strong places amply garrisoned and provided, several of which had been previously deemed impregnable. The use which the Prince made of his victory was moderate and generous; and his conduct at this time shows none of that want of humanity of which, at an after period, he was accused by the very same rebellious vassals whom he now conquered. He did not take upon himself to punish any of them for their rebellion; we find no harsh or brutal act recorded against him; and towards his father he displayed that dutiful reverence, for the want of which on a former occasion, he now evidently sought to atone. In-

stead of arrogating to himself the power of disposing of the prisoners as he thought fit, or demanding ransoms which would have swelled his own resources, and enabled him to defend himself more speedily against any renewed opposition, he sent all the principal insurgents over to the court of his father, in order that they might receive judgment from the lips of him whom he still justly considered as his sovereign and theirs. Henry the Second, on his part, with the clemency which he usually evinced, did not take vengeance upon the revolted lords of Aquitaine, as the feudal law would have justified him in doing; but highly pleased with the conduct of his second son, he sent back the prisoners to Richard, promising soon to visit France himself, and ordering the Prince to detain them till his arrival.*

Well might Henry the Second learn to value every act of obedience and reverence on the part of any of his children; for the eldest son was now proceeding in a manner which could not fail to be both grievous and alarming to his father. Freed from the restraint under which he had lain while in

* Diceto gives us to understand, that the English monarch pardoned them at once, on their casting themselves at his feet, with every appearance of humiliation, which took place at Winchester on the 21st of September in the year 1176. This would seem to be a mistake, however, so far as the free pardon of the prisoners is concerned; but the date of their arrival in England is valuable, inasmuch as it shows with what extraordinary rapidity Richard reduced the revolted nobles of Poitou.

England, the young King now gave himself up to all his former evil counsellors; and though he did not refuse to send Adam de Chirkedun over to England at his father's bidding, yet he sent him in chains. The British monarch was indignant, as he well might be; and it would appear, from some expressions of Bromton,* that the younger Henry would not consent that his vice-chancellor should be released, in consequence of which a severe dispute took place between himself and his father. The termination of the affair is very obscure, and all that we know, is that the King consented to leave the poor priest still in durance, but consigned him to the milder custody of one of his own body. At the same time, it is evident, from all Henry's acts, that in the course of this year he had very serious cause to apprehend that a new insurrection was on the point of breaking out; and we may well connect together the dangerous intimacy of the younger

* The chronicle of Bromton is generally merely a compilation from other authors; but from time to time the writer, whoever he was, adds some explanatory matter of his own, with much apparent candour and sincerity; and though these passages rarely consist of more than one or two lines, they are valuable as throwing light on that which would otherwise have remained in darkness. Such is the case in the present instance; as, after copying Hoveden almost word for word, he adds a line or two regarding Adam de Chirkedun, which are not to be found in that author. The chronicle of Bromton is also very useful for the purpose of correcting the names of places, which are frequently found sadly disguised in Hoveden and other contemporary authors.

Henry with the comrades of his former rebellion, and the decisive measure adopted by the King at this time to guard against a fresh revolt, by putting garrisons of his own into an immense number of castles belonging to his nobility, and destroying many other strong places which he did not think fit to retain.

Perhaps the display of such wakeful suspicion had the good effect of crushing insurrection ere it had power to raise its head on high; and England, Normandy, Anjou, and Maine remained in tranquillity for some time longer, while Poitou, Saintonge, and Angoumois, as well as the Limousin, were held in awe by the vigorous administration of Richard, whose name was daily rising in military renown, and whose fame had by this time spread to all parts of Europe. Before the close of the year, however, he was called from Poitou, to pursue the same brilliant and victorious course which had there distinguished him, in a distant part of the territory committed to his charge. Taking advantage of the opposition and difficulties which he had for some months been forced to contend with in Poitou, several of the principal barons of the southern part of Aquitaine had concerted measures for a fresh revolt, and were already in arms before Christmas. Trusting to the strength of their fortresses, more than to their power in the field, they hastened to provide the towns of Agen and Bayonne with all that was necessary

for a long defence, and also added to the fortifications of many places in Bigorre and the Agenois. The Count of Bigorre himself and the Viscount of Agen, both holding immense territories in the most defensible part of Aquitaine, were at the head of the conspiracy; while behind them was a race of rude but active and courageous people, very different indeed from almost all the populations that surrounded them, and whom we trace,—under many variations of the name of Basques,—as a distinct tribe, up to a very remote period of history. Inhabiting a large portion of Biscay and the mountainous parts of Aquitaine, they mingled with the Navarrese and with the more modern people of Gascony—of which district they were probably at one time in complete possession—but kept their own language and their manners perfectly distinct from those of the Spaniards on the one hand, and the French on the other. These Basques were frequently at war with their neighbours, and were always willing to aid the revolt of any baron in their vicinity against princes whose power might one day become dangerous to themselves. Naturally fond of warfare, active and enterprising, the hostilities in which they were frequently engaged rendered the passes of the Pyrennees dangerous to travellers, while a propensity to plunder induced them not even to spare the persons and purses of the numerous pilgrims who

flocked to the shrine of St. James of Compostella.* It would seem that towards this period the habit of

* All the evils which attended a traveller in those days were so great as really to render a pilgrimage an act of severe penance as well as devotion. Even an ordinary journey was then no slight undertaking; and Diceto gives a curious and almost ludicrous account of an expedition made by the Bishop of Norwich, which is worth transcribing in this place. “*Johannes Norwicensis episcopus, mandato regis in Siciliam suspectissimo tempore proficiscens, sæpe variis est affectus incommodis. Nam dum Romam recto petere debuisset itinere si non in scismate perstissent Lombardi, pars australis qua transitus sibi relictus est in subsidium panis plurimum laborabat inedia. Pabula jumentorum vix aliquo quæstu procurabantur. Iter habens per Arverniam jacentium in plateis, et fame tumentium angebatur clamoribus. Valentiam urbem ingressus adhuc in bonâ valitudine manens, in venalibus disquirendis fidem hospitum causabatur. Ad noctes pertrahendas insomnes lectisternia pulices vendicabant. Ebre-dunensium fines præteriens, Jani montis declinans confinia, limites attigens Italicos, dum equis Januæ relictis se mari commisisset Tirreno, promuntoria Januensium, marina Pysanorum, Veneris portum et Herculis, ostii Tiberini fluentia velis in altum expassis, à sinistra reliquens urbem applicuit Gaetanam. Exin pro varietate locorum vario desudans navigio, modo sagittario, modo lintre, nec tam utens velo quam remo, ducatum Apuliæ, Capuæ principatum, evexa Calabrie, cum aliqua remoratione pertransiit. Regium et Messanam urbes Pharo conterminas hinc et illinc de vicino respiciens. Ut autem maris pericula post eversionem Ilii Trojanis quondam tendentibus in Italiam haut prorsus incognita non omittam, Palinuri discursus, Scyllæ scopulos, Caribdis voraginem non intrepidus evitavit. Nec enim ad momentum suo versabatur in animo quod mare multociens evertitur in momento. Proinde nusquam quies, nusquam securitas, fervor nimius navigationem dampnabat. Metuendus piratarum incursus constantissimo cuilibet incussisset timorem.*”

plundering the wayfaring devotees had assumed a more regular and organised form, so as to have deviated in fact into a tax, which was levied at the point of the sword, it is true, but the exaction of which was held to be a prescriptive right of the Basques and Navarrese. St. James, the patron saint of Spain, was at this time in great favour with the English; and it was natural therefore, that to establish a free passage through the mountains should be a very great object with Henry the Second. Representations of the evils which daily occurred had been made to Richard, and as soon as he had completed the subjection of the insurgents in Poitou, he marched to the south, and spent the Christmas of 1176 at Bordeaux, with the double object of suppressing the revolt in that quarter, and compelling the people in the mountains to leave the passes open both to merchants and pilgrims.

Remigantium illæ notabiles immundiciæ provocabant ad nauseam. Intima præcordiorum pestilens inficiebat aer. Quid enim inter tot discrimina gentem regionis externæ dixeris incurrisse periculi, dum apud Siculos idibus Augusti tunc temporis effluentibus folium in arboribus, in vite pampinus, arundines in palustribus prorsus exaruerint. Dum divertebatur ad litus, lintres vix. viij. tantum capaces animarum advesperascente die fluctibus extrahebantur. De reficiendis ergo corporibus cura propensior sub divo discumbere multis ebdomadibus satis ægre sustinuit. Ad quiescendum vero de noctibus nunc lapis durior stramentorum repensabat mollitiem, nunc indulgentior tractus maris offerebat harenam, et sternere lectum in sabulo magistra necessitas edocebat."

It is probable that the Count of Bigorre and the Viscount of Agen never for a moment imagined that the English prince, whatever might be his intrepidity and daring, would undertake the siege of two strong cities, in a difficult country, and in the midst of a severe and inclement winter; but Richard's whole soul was animated with the thirst of military renown; apprehension of any kind he knew not, and dangers and difficulties presented themselves to his eyes but as new enterprises to be achieved, new paths to glory and to honour.

After passing Christmas-day at Bordeaux, the Prince putting himself at the head of his troops, marched to the siege of Agen; and notwithstanding the length of time which had been allowed for the insurgents to fortify themselves, so fierce and unremitting was the attack of the English prince, that within ten days after he had sat down before the walls, Richard saw himself in possession of Agen, and the hopes of the insurgents utterly blasted in that quarter. To the south-west, however, Bayonne still remained to be taken; and at that season of the year it possessed many additional defences besides the strong fortifications by which it was surrounded. Between Agen and Bayonne lay a tract difficult to be passed at any time for an army encumbered by the vast battering machines which were required in those days in order to conduct any siege to a successful termination. On the one hand, Richard had before him a road which lost itself

among the extensive sands that skirt the bay of Biscay, and in pursuing which the wheels of his carriages must soon have sunk into the shifting soil, thus preventing his further advance. On the other hand, however, he had a mountainous and difficult district to traverse, where rivers, forests, and precipices presented themselves at every step, and where heavy falls of snow are frequent throughout the winter. None of these impediments, however, stopped him on his way; but marching with a degree of rapidity truly astonishing, he was at the gates of Bayonne before the inhabitants could have heard of the fall of Agen. The resistance that he encountered was strenuous, but Bayonne met the same fate as the other cities of the insurgents. Richard attacked it with the fury and pertinacity which he had always displayed, and again the siege was terminated by the capture of the town, before ten days had elapsed after the arrival of the English prince under its walls. There is every reason to believe that the fall of Bayonne was immediately followed by the submission of the principal insurgents; and Richard, freed from all apprehensions of being attacked in his rear, or opposed on his return, marched forwards to a place then called *Portas Sizaræ*, on the frontiers of Spain, and attacked the strong castle of St. Peter's,*

* This was undoubtedly one of the various places called St. Pé, and I have no doubt was the small town of that name which lies a few miles to the east of St. Jean de Luz.

which was held out against him, apparently by the Basques. This was one of the principal stations of the marauders; and as a punishment for their cruelties and exactions, the English prince demolished the castle, and marching through the country, reduced a number of other places, striking terror into the hearts of the Basques and Navarrese. At length, yielding all resistance, the leaders of the tribes inhabiting the passes of the mountains met the English prince at a place called Sorges, and entered into a treaty with him, by which they agreed both to keep peace amongst themselves, and to leave the passes free to all pilgrims, abolishing at the demand of Richard, all those evil laws which had grown up amongst them, and declaring that their submission should be perpetual. In regard to the latter part of the treaty, it is probable that Richard did not put any great faith in a clause which has filled a place in most documents of the kind, but which never yet received accomplishment; and it was sufficient for him, without believing that the pacification of those districts would be perpetual, to know that he had opened the passes for the time, and facilitated, if not secured, the safe passage of pilgrims to the shrine of the Gallician saint.* What was the cause of such frequent quarrels between

* It would seem from the account of Bromton that this was the great object of Richard's proceedings after the capture of Bayonne. He says, "Et Basclenses et Navarrenses pacem jurare et tenere postea vi coegit. Destruxit etiam apud Sorges et

the Navarrese and the Basques, we are not told; but the view with which Richard interfered was evidently to remove the obstructions which their contention had thrown in the way of pilgrims; and it will not seem strange that an object apparently of so little importance should move the young Prince to undertake this expedition, when we recollect that the fame of the wooden image of St. James was so great, that Henry the Second himself proposed to visit it in the course of this very year, and sent into Spain for a passport to ensure his safety.

Having accomplished all that he had undertaken with a degree of skill, vigour, and determination, which brought him an immense addition of renown, Richard marched back from the scene of his distant conquests, and ended the most brilliant enterprise which he had yet achieved, by returning to Poitiers before the 2nd of February, not six weeks from the day of his departure from Bordeaux. His first act was to send messengers to his father, announcing the splendid success which had attended his arms; but whether any other objects were or were not treated of in the messages and letters dispatched by the young Duke

Lespurmi omnes malas consuetudines introductas, ubi mos erat peregrinos sancti Jacobi depradare." The exact situation of the two places mentioned here I do not know. I was at one time inclined to believe that Richard had advanced as far as Soria, but afterwards found cause to alter my opinion.

of Aquitaine to the King, the historians of the day do not inform us. Nevertheless, we have much reason to believe that such was the case; for, in the course of that very year, dissensions arose between the monarchs of France and England, in which Richard himself was deeply interested; and it is scarcely possible to conceive that he took no part in the preceding discussions.

Before we notice the events connected with this transaction, however, it may be necessary to give some account of the termination of the schism which had long desolated the church, by the unexpected reverses which suddenly befel the arms of a prince who had for many years gone on in a course of almost uninterrupted success. Although nothing like defeat had attended the efforts of Frederic Barbarossa, and although as soon as one anti-pope was dead, the Emperor raised up another in his stead, yet the power of his enemy Alexander had been steadily though slowly increasing ever since a pestilence, attacking the imperial army, had forced Frederic precipitately to quit the ancient capital of the world. Dependent in some degree upon the good will of the Electors of the empire, the resources of the German monarch were subject to constant fluctuations, as indeed was ever the case with the long line of princes who filled the same imperial throne. The people of Bohemia, too, frequently in revolt, afforded a continual diversion in favour of the papal party in Italy;

and although Frederic obtained some succour from the Diet assembled at Worms in 1172, yet Alexander, acknowledged by England, supported by France, and strictly allied with the brave King of Sicily, daily extended his power, and saw the rival popes sink into insignificance.

In the course of the year 1174, Frederic resolved to make a greater effort than he had yet done since his retreat from Rome; and, entering Lombardy, he marched towards a town which had been founded in honour of his enemy, Alexander, and which receiving his name, has ever since been called Alexandria. The inhabitants of the city had prepared themselves to make a vigorous and pertinacious defence; and although the place was not in those days strongly fortified, the garrison contrived to keep the Emperor at bay during many months. The statement made by Godefridus, that the town was only defended by a deep ditch without any walls, is of course not to be credited, and is merely one of the many marvels of the monkish scribes, whose own account of the siege shows their assertion in this respect to be indubitably false. Some authors state that the walls were very strong, but still it would seem that the defences of the place were imperfect. The courage of the inhabitants, however, supplied all deficiencies; and although Frederic employed against the walls various battering engines of great power, the town remained unsubdued from the

twenty-ninth of October far into the spring of the following year.

The winter was rigorous in the extreme, the cold weather was followed by incessant rains, which inundated the whole of the flat country round Alexandria, and, together with the want of good food and forage, spread a pestilential disease among both the men and horses of the imperial camp. Frederic however persisted, evincing that determined resolution which characterised him, although, besides his loss by war and by the pestilence, the Saxon troops, who had followed him unwillingly, left his standard, I believe almost entirely. Not having succeeded in effecting a practicable breach by means of his battering engines, the Emperor proceeded to employ the mine, and carried forward a large excavation without the knowledge of the inhabitants, till it had passed under the ditch and wall of the town. He had now remained between five and six months in tents before Alexandria, and success seemed about to crown his efforts, notwithstanding the terrible loss which he had sustained in the siege. The people of the town, too, were beginning to be pressed by famine ; but they contrived to give notice of their distress to the confederate cities of Lombardy, and fifteen principal towns joined together to raise a large army both of cavalry and infantry, with which they marched to the relief of the besieged place. The formidable force thus

brought into the field arrived in the neighbourhood of Tortona, ten miles from the imperial camp, on Palm Sunday, the sixth of April 1176.

The Emperor now found himself in a most difficult and dangerous situation ; and on Thursday of the Holy Week he had recourse to a dishonest stratagem, which justly turned to his confusion and dishonour. In order to escape from the great peril which menaced him, by forcing Alexandria to surrender ere it could be relieved, Frederic feigned to grant the inhabitants a truce of three days, that they might keep with due devotion the most solemn fast of the christian church ; and as soon as the garrison, implicitly confiding in his good faith, had retired to rest after the ceremonies of Good Friday, he endeavoured to effect an entrance by means of the mine, having prepared two hundred of his bravest soldiers to rush into the city as soon as an opening was made. From the account which we have received of this transaction, it would appear that the mine now employed differed very much from those generally used against besieged places in that day. The usual mode of mining was to excavate a subterranean passage, which was pushed forward till it reached the foundation of the wall. The superincumbent weight of earth and stones was supported by large piles of wood, and when the mine had been carried to the spot desired, a fire was lighted at the bottom of the stakes beneath the wall, which by consuming the wood-work, left the

mass of masonry above without support. The pressure generally broke the pillars before they were altogether destroyed by the fire, and a large part of the wall was thus thrown down with tremendous violence.

In the present instance, however, the mine must have been carried on for some distance within the line of walls, and was contrived with a view to afford the besieging force an entrance into the town, without throwing down the ramparts, or causing any noise. The two hundred chosen men were introduced into the cavity towards midnight, and the thin layer of earth which remained between it and the interior of the city was speedily removed. But in effecting this, it would appear, a part of the ground forming the vault of the mine was shaken, and gave way, burying a number of the soldiers alive. Several, however, made their way into the town; but they were instantly perceived by some of the sentinels, and before they could rush to the gates and give admission to the forces of the Emperor, which were drawn up in arms without, the inhabitants of the city were roused. The intruders were now attacked with fury and indignation; and, driven through the streets to the ramparts, they were forced to cast themselves down or to meet death where they stood.

Successful in arms, and animated by the most vehement hatred towards the besiegers, the people of Alexandria followed up the defeat of the intruders

by a sally, in which they slaughtered a number of the Germans, and penetrated into the camp so far as to set fire to the wooden pavilion or castle which had been erected for the residence of the Emperor himself. They then retired with little loss, leaving all Frederic's hopes of capturing the city blasted for ever.

Thus failed the attempt of Frederic upon Alexandria on the night of Good Friday, 1175; and although Muratori himself evidently felt a doubt in regard to the statement, so generally made, that the Emperor was guilty of a gross breach of faith towards the defenders of the place, yet I am strongly inclined to believe that such was really the case, for we can scarcely believe that the laborious operation of opening the mine into the town could have been effected so quietly, unless some deceit had been employed to lull the suspicions of the besieged.

With forces diminished and dispirited, and threatened every day by an army much greater in number than his own, the Emperor gave up the attempt to reduce Alexandria, and turned towards Pavia, determined to force his way through the confederated Lombards. In regard to the proceedings which now took place, the German and Italian writers are directly opposed to each other. By some it is affirmed that Frederic marched to attack the enemy; by others, that the Lombards hastened to intercept him in his retreat to Pavia. By the Germans it is said, that the Lombards, terrified at the

approach of the Teutonic bands, sent messengers to cast themselves at the feet of Frederic, and to beseech him to grant them peace. By the Italians, it is stated, though in a less distinct and decided manner, that the suspension of hostilities was sought by Frederic himself. It is certain, however, that he marched with a bold face as far as the town of Guignella, and there prepared to encounter his enemies.

By some means, however, at the very moment when it was supposed a battle was inevitable, a truce was agreed upon, and a convention was signed at Monbello on the sixteenth of April, by which the Emperor gave a vague promise to preserve the rights of the confederate cities, and the Lombards, on their part, agreed to respect the rights of the Emperor.

I should be strongly inclined to believe that this pacific termination of the campaign was sought by Frederic, as his army was far inferior in point of number to the forces of his enemy, but on account of one or two circumstances which the Italian writers themselves suffer to appear. In the first place, it can scarcely be supposed that the Lombards with their superior force would have granted to Frederic the truce which was so necessary to his safety, if they had any strong inclination to encounter him in the field; and at the same time, we find that the two persons, who by the statement of the Italians themselves

took the greatest share in negotiating the truce on the very day that the battle was about to take place, were Eccelino da Romano I., and Anselmo da Doara, the two great leaders of the Lombard forces, who, be it remarked, style themselves, in the same year, Rectors of Lombardy. Neither can there be the least doubt that on presenting themselves in the presence of Frederic, they testified every kind of humility and reverence for his person. It appears, at the same time, that instead of taking the direct road towards Pavia, Frederic went much nearer to Tortona than was necessary, as if for the purpose of giving battle to his enemies.

When I consider all these facts, and yet weigh the great justice of Muratori's observation, that Frederic "was not a man, if he had not found himself at the ebb of fortune, and in great peril, to put his sword into the scabbard for a trifle,"* I am inclined to believe that the Lombards, satisfied with having delivered Alexandria, and hoping that by that act they had secured their own liberties, were very well contented to spare the effusion of blood, both on their own part and on that of the enemy, and that, therefore, being in a commanding position, they took advantage of it to propose terms of peace to the Emperor. On the other hand, I imagine that Frederic, well weighing the doubtful chances of battle when his

* Non era egli uomo, se non si fosse veduto in bassa fortuna e in pericolo, da rimettere sì per poco lo spada nel fodero.

army was reduced and dispirited, was very willing to temporise till such time as he could recruit his forces.*

To suppose that either party was really affected by fear, or made a base submission, is impossible for any one who considers well the character of the persons concerned. Frederic, more decidedly outnumbered than he was on the present occasion, had

* It is curious to remark how the prejudices of historians affect their sincerity, even when they have no intention of perverting the truth. In everything where the papal jurisdiction was concerned, the tumid and somewhat vapid account of the Mr. Berington, whom we have before spoken of, displays an extraordinary instance of prejudice assuming the tone of candour. In relating the events connected with the siege of Alexandria, he suppresses many facts which are necessary to guide our judgment; and by not giving all which is told even by the papal scribes themselves, he raises into a miracle the resistance of the inhabitants, and the magnanimity of the Lombards. Thus he declares that Alexandria was surrounded only by a deep ditch, and concealing altogether that some contemporary authors assure us the walls were exceedingly strong, and that almost every other historian alludes to those walls more or less, he declares that the besieged presented nothing "against the Emperor's machines but the noble spirit of freemen." All this is very silly and very wrong, for undoubtedly the Emperor did not make use of his catapults against a spirit. Mr. Berington also conceals the fact, that the mine fell in and crushed a number of the imperial soldiers; and he suppresses altogether the strong motives that we have for supposing that Frederic, instead of marching direct to Pavia, sought the Lombard forces with a view of giving them battle. All these things should assuredly have been told by an historian affecting sincerity.

before attacked and defeated the force of the papal partisans, in the neighbourhood of Rome; and Eccelino himself had gained undying renown in the crusade of the Emperor Conrad. Thus much is to be said in favour of the Lombards, however, that they were undoubtedly sincere in their expressed desire of peace, while Frederic, on the contrary, was apparently playing a more deceitful game, and only seeking to gain time, in the hope of obliterating his late defeats by fresh efforts and fresh success.

It is true, that during the rest of the year 1175, negotiations were carried on between the Emperor and the Pope, as well as between Frederic and the Lombard states, with a view of effecting some arrangement by which the general pacification of Italy might be secured; and in justice to Frederic I am bound to say, that he himself sought to treat with Rome, and displayed great courtesy and kindness, both to the Papal and Lombard envoys, collected round him at Pavia. Nevertheless, we find that, in the course of the year 1175, Frederic vehemently urged his chief supporters in the empire to give him aid in carrying on the war; and although it was very necessary that he should be prepared against an unfavourable termination of the negotiation with the Lombards, yet there was a degree of eagerness and haste in his levies at this time, that spoke unfavourably for his sincerity. The Pope and the confederates, at the same time, declared

his demands to be exorbitant, and at the conclusion of that year it had become evident that hostilities would be soon renewed.

Many of the princes of the empire hastened to obey the Emperor's summons; but William the Lion of Saxony refused his presence, and did not send his troops. A large army, however, was collected, and prepared to march early in the year 1176; and immediately after Easter it set out, under the command of the Archbishop of Magdeburg and the Archbishop of Cologne. Tidings of the approach of the imperial army soon reached Italy, and both parties in that country instantly flew to arms. The people of Milan, Brescia, Piacenza, Novara, and Vercelli, with the inhabitants of several other places, hastened to defend the liberties of their country, while the Marquis of Monferrat and the citizens of Pavia, as well as those of Como, prepared to join the standard of the Emperor.

As soon as Frederic, who had remained at Pavia, heard that his army had advanced into the defiles of the Alps, he hastened to put himself at its head, and met the two Archbishops in the neighbourhood of Belinzona, at the top of the Lago Maggiore. He then proceeded slowly down towards the south, by the course of the Ticino, and then between the lakes, till he reached the city of Como, where his career was destined to be arrested by that fatal battle which broke the sceptre of his sway in Italy.

I have mentioned that at the first news of the march of the imperial army, the cities of Lombardy began to arm in their own defence ; but the Prelates of Magdeburg and Cologne, notwithstanding the early season of the year and the difficult passes which they were obliged to follow, had made so much haste that the Emperor was marching down in force upon Italy before several of the confederates had time to join their allies. The citizens of Milan, however, with those of Brescia, Piacenza, and three other cities, advanced at once to meet the Emperor, ere he could effect his junction with the forces which were advancing to support him from the side of Monferrat and Savoy. As in the case of the famous battle of the standard in England, in order to give the vigour of religious enthusiasm to the troops, the sacred banner of Milan, elevated upon a car, called the Carroccio, was borne in the midst of the Lombard army ; and as the whole force, we have reason to believe, was composed of tried and chosen soldiers, confidence and determination reigned throughout the host. Advancing with great rapidity, the Lombards soon arrived within a short distance of the imperial camp, and finding that the Emperor was marching down the course of the Ticino, they halted, and drew up their army in battle array between that river and Legnano, near the small town or village of Busti, a little to the right of the road leading from Domo d' Ossola to Milan. The little river Olona was to their

right, and not far in advance the rivulet of the Lombard Arno: the Ticino was at some short distance on their left; and thus it was well nigh impossible for the Emperor to escape them had he been so inclined.

Such was not the case, however; but, on the contrary, he marched forward with a bold face, throwing out a body of three hundred German knights to reconnoitre the country in advance. On the part of the Lombards, seven hundred horse were dispatched to ascertain the movements of the enemy; and on the 29th of May 1176, these detached parties encountered each other, it being the day of the Saints Alexander and Sisinnius. Though the German knights, who first commenced the battle, were so much inferior in number to the body of Lombards opposed to them, they did not give way, but maintained the fight boldly, till the army of Frederic approaching, the seven hundred Lombards retreated to the main body of their forces; and the Emperor marched on without pause or hesitation to attack the enemy.

The first shock was tremendous, but the result here also proved favorable to the imperial arms. The people of Brescia, who composed the vanguard of the Lombard host, offered a desperate resistance, but in the end their phalanx was broken, and they were put to flight. A number of Frederic's horsemen now inconsiderately left their ranks to pursue the fugitives, although the

great body of Milanese around their sacred standard still maintained their firm array, and presented a front impenetrable to the imperial arms. In vain Frederic attacked this body with fury and determination—in vain he himself performed prodigies of valour at the head of his knights; no impression was made upon the hardy band of Milanese, who after supporting frequent assaults, became in turn the assailants, and in the end changed the fortune of the battle.

While yet the result of the day was in suspense, various fresh bodies of Lombard troops, which had been marching to join the confederates, arrived upon the field; and all the efforts of the Emperor and his gallant soldiery now proved in vain. The conflict was continued with desperation, during many hours, and the slaughter was terrible on both sides. The people of Como, however, who had abandoned the party of the league to join the Emperor, suffered more severely than the rest, and scarcely a man of them, we are told, escaped alive.

The struggle on the part of the Germans, though unsuccessful, would probably have been protracted till nightfall, had not the well-known crest of the Emperor, which had been seen in every part of the field, and in the thickest of the battle, suddenly disappeared, and the rumour spread through his army that he was killed. The flight then became general; much slaughter took place in the pursuit, and many of the imperial partisans were made

prisoners, while many others were drowned in the Ticino in attempting to escape. The whole baggage of the imperial army, the banner of the empire, the cross, the shield and the lance of the Emperor, the treasure which had been sent him from Germany, with an immense quantity of arms, and vestments of gold and silver, fell into the hands of the Lombards; while the brother of the Archbishop of Cologne and the nephew of the Empress were found amongst the prisoners.*

The fugitives who fled from this bloody field dispersed themselves over the country, some seeking Pavia, some flying to Como, and bearing to the Empress, who had been left in that town, the sad intelligence of her husband's defeat and supposed death. Even the confederates themselves believed that he was slain; his body was sought for amongst the dead, and the Empress put on mourning: but suddenly, several days after the battle, Frederic appeared uninjured in the town of Pavia, and his escape from that fatal field still remains a mystery which has never been solved. Certain it is that he was seen fighting with the most desperate and determined valour at a very late period of the day; and it would appear that his horse was either killed under him or fell with him, making those around

* Such is the account given by the people of Milan themselves in a letter written immediately after the battle to the town of Bologna, to communicate the joyful news of their victory.

him believe that he was slain. But what took place after that moment no one has satisfactorily explained, though we are told by one author that the Emperor surrendered to some of the people of Brescia, and was conducted to that city, whence, either by his own skill or the connivance of his gaolers, he effected his escape to Pavia. This tale, however, has not obtained credit, and is rejected entirely by the most acute critics of Italian history.

The pride of Frederic Barbarossa was effectually humbled by the terrible defeat which he sustained near Como. The struggle was certainly not inglorious on his part; for there can be no doubt, that the force with which he attacked the Lombards was greatly inferior to their own. He also had received no support during the action from any but the troops that he first led to battle; while it is clearly shown that several large bodies joined the confederates in the course of the day. But the great depression of mind which fell upon Frederic would seem to prove that the numbers could not have been by any means so unequal as the German writers would lead us to believe. He appears to have been impressed, for the first time in his life, with the idea that the hand of Heaven was visibly exerted against him; and in this frame of mind he immediately opened negotiations with the Pope and the confederates for the restoration of tranquillity to the north of Italy, and for his own reconciliation with the church. The first treaty

signed was one between Frederic and the Pope; who, to his honour be it spoken, showed himself very willing to receive the Emperor once more into the bosom of the church on terms milder than might have been expected after the signal success which had attended the arms of the Papal party. The negociations between the Pope and Frederic were kept secret for some time; but the terms of reconciliation were speedily settled, and Alexander engaged to use his influence with the Lombards to procure a peaceable adjustment of the respective claims of the empire and the confederate cities. Great difficulties ensued in coming to any compromise respecting demands which were undoubtedly excessive on both sides; and after proceeding to Venice and to Ferrara in order to mediate between the contending parties, Alexander, finding that notwithstanding the most zealous and truly Christian efforts to restore peace, he could not arrive at any exact definition of the rights of the Emperor and the Lombards, proposed that a long truce should be substituted for a definitive treaty of pacification; and this suggestion was ultimately followed.

Frederic seems to have been sincerely grateful to Alexander for his endeavours to serve him in this negociation. He agreed to meet the Pope and to receive absolution in the city of Venice; and the terms of a truce of six years having been arranged with the Lombards, while a simi-

lar suspension of hostilities for fifteen years was agreed upon between the Emperor and the King of Sicily, Frederic repaired to Venice in July 1177; and, on the 24th of that month was met by the Pope at the door of the church of St. Mark. The Emperor then cast himself at the feet of the Pontiff, having previously received absolution from the hands of the papal legates ere he crossed from the main land; but Alexander instantly raised him from the ground, shed tears of joy at his reconciliation with the church, embraced him and gave him his blessing. Frederic on his part displayed every sign of repentance for his long contumacy, led the Pope by the hand into the church, and in the course of that and the following day, rendered all those honours to the Roman Bishop which had been conceded by previous Emperors.

Thus terminated one of the fiercest schisms which ever desolated the Roman Church; and Alexander, freed altogether from apprehension, prepared to exercise his increased power and influence—which had now indeed become almost irresistible—in a manner that greatly affected the destinies both of England and France, of Henry the Second and of his son Richard. What precautions Frederic took to secure from danger the Anti-pope Calixtus, I do not know; but although those were times in which the clergy were not wont to spare an offending brother, yet Alexander seems to have been satisfied with the complete triumph which he had obtained,

and to have desired no farther vengeance upon his rival, than by leaving him at Viterbo to neglect and oblivion. The submission of the Emperor to the power of the church, however, gave Alexander such an immense increase of influence that all his opponents sought eagerly to obtain terms of pacification. The turbulent citizens of Rome, within the gates of which city Alexander had ceased to reside, now negotiated with the Pontiff and sought to call him back to their walls. Alexander would not consent without submission on many points, in regard to which the Romans had hitherto made strenuous resistance; but these matters were at length settled, and it was agreed that the Senate should remain and the members be elected according to the usual form, but that each should take an oath of fidelity, and do homage to the Pope; and, moreover, it was stipulated that the church of St. Peter, and all the royalties which had been occupied by the Romans, to the prejudice of the right of Alexander, should be restored to him.*

These arrangements being satisfactorily made and solemnly sworn to, the Pope returned to Rome, on the 12th of March 1178; and before the con-

* It is probably the word *Regalia*, which I have translated *Royalties*, which has misled Mr. Berington into making the assertion that it was stipulated "the rights of a sovereign should be surrendered to Alexander." The meaning of the Annalist, however, is quite clear, and only implied that all those estates or properties which belonged of old right to the head of the Roman Church, should be given up to Alexander without farther contest.

clusion of that year he had the gratification, while passing the grape season at Tusculum, of seeing his rival Calixtus come voluntarily to cast himself at his feet. Resuming the title of John Abbot of Struma, the Anti-pope, on hearing that the friends of Alexander—apparently without the Supreme Pontiff's knowledge—were ravaging the territories of those who had supported him, hastened to extinguish the last spark of the schism, by submitting to the superior fortune of his rival. Alexander took no unworthy advantage of the humiliation of his adversary, but raised him with kindness, received him into his familiarity, and granting him the absolution which he sought, sent him to Beneventum on a mission of importance.

B O O K V.

At the time when Richard undertook his victorious expedition into the south of Aquitaine, although Frederic had not yet cast himself at the feet of the Roman Pontiff and made that submission which virtually, though not actually, as some authors have stated, placed the sandal of the monk upon the neck of the Emperor and, with him, of all other Christian monarchs, yet the fatal battle of Como had been fought, and the terms of accommodation between the empire and Rome were already determined. Thus armed with the power of giving law to Europe, Alexander proceeded to support one who had been his steady and most bigotted friend against a monarch whose power and prudence had threatened to annihilate some of the most dangerous privileges of the Roman clergy. The renewal of the Constitutions of Clarendon, and the concession of Huguson, by which the clergy were placed under

the secular arm in case of offences against the forest laws, showed Alexander that the reforming spirit of Henry was not yet at rest, and that it would be well to afford some fresh occupation to his active mind which might divert his attention from the proceedings and exemptions of ecclesiastics.

The jealous, restless, and uncertain character of Louis, King of France, soon gave to Alexander an excuse for interfering in the affairs of England. Henry, the young King, had, as we have seen, incurred his father's displeasure; and though the several acts by which he daily increased the monarch's anger and excited fresh apprehensions are not told, yet we find it clearly proved, that such anger and apprehensions did so augment; and there can be no doubt that, to his present conduct, he was instigated by the counsels of the King of France.

So serious did the aspect of Henry's affairs on the continent soon become, that early in the year 1177, the monarch collected a large army at Winchester; and the ports upon the coast of England were filled with shipping, in order to convey to Normandy the immense force which he evidently thought absolutely necessary to crush the spirit of revolt in his own subjects, and to repel any attack which might be made upon him by his pertinacious enemy the King of France. What communication he had previously held with Louis we do not know, but it is supposed, though not clearly ascertained, that the Bishop of Bayeux had been sent to the French court

to require an explanation of the movements which caused apprehension in the mind of the King of England. That prelate arrived at Winchester, however, when Henry's preparations were nearly completed; and in consequence of the intelligence which he brought from France, Henry suspended his embarkation; and, appointing his forces to rejoin him before the end of June, he dispatched ambassadors of dignity and importance, both to his son Henry and to the French monarch.

We know not what the envoys were charged to say to the younger Henry, but it is certain that his reply gave his father fresh offence. The messages sent to the King of France, we are told by some authors, were in fact a demand that Louis should immediately give up all that territory lying between Gisors and Pontoise, which had been promised as an addition to the dowry of the Princess Margaret, who had married the King of England's eldest son. It is added that Henry required also to be put in possession of the city of Bourges en Berri, which had been promised to Prince Richard, with the hand of Alice or Adalais, the daughter of the French king; and moreover we are assured Henry demanded that the Princess Margaret, who it seems had been sent to Paris by her husband, should immediately return to Normandy. Such is one account, but there is another, and although the statement given above is made upon the good authority of the Abbot of Peterborough, I am in-

clined to reject his testimony in this instance, and to receive the account of Hoveden, both because the chaplain was with Henry at the time, and because his relation bears with it every circumstance of probability, while even at the first view that of the Abbot of Peterborough can hardly be credited.

Hoveden places the demand of the French Vexin and of the city of Bourges at a subsequent period, after Henry had received a summons of an extraordinary nature from the King of France which we shall have to notice presently, and to which the application of the English monarch was a retort. It must also be remarked that the demand of Bourges brought forward a question which Henry was most unwilling to agitate except when he was driven to it; and it therefore appears to me very probable, that the Abbot of Peterborough has in his narrative confounded the messages which the Bishop of Ely, the Archdeacon of Oxford, and others, were certainly commanded to bear to the younger Henry, with the demands which were shortly afterwards made by the King of England upon Louis the Young. In this opinion I am confirmed by the fact that the Bishop of Ely and the Archdeacon do not appear to have gone on to Paris at all.

On the consideration of all the circumstances, I am inclined to believe that all Henry required from Louis at this time was to abstain from instiga-

ting his son to acts of rebellion, and to send back the Princess Margaret into Normandy; or at most that the demand comprised the cession of the French Vexin.

There existed it is true other serious matters of discussion between Henry II. and the King of France; and although the historians of the time do not mention the negotiations which took place in regard to disputed portions of territory, yet we find from state papers, which are the surest of all guides, that frequent communications must have passed between the ministers of Henry and Louis concerning parts of Auvergne, Berri, and other districts. The ambassadors which Henry now sent to the court of France, might be, and probably were, instructed to demand explanations or satisfaction in regard to these claims; but the answer returned by Louis is not known, and before Henry could execute his intention of going into Normandy, messengers arrived at Winchester bringing him the distasteful news that Peter, Cardinal of St. Chrysgonus, had arrived in France, commanded by the Pope to put his whole territories on both sides of the water under interdict, in case he refused to unite his son Richard to Alice the daughter of the French king.

This act on the part of the Pope is, in every point of view, extraordinary, and worthy of consideration. The Roman see had always contended for the right of interfering in every case what-

soever where the spiritual rule was either remotely or immediately concerned, and thus in regard to marriages we find the Popes continually stepping forward either to enforce or mitigate the severity of the canons, as suited their views and purposes; but I know of no instance, except this, in which they thought fit to interpose in order to compel the execution of an engagement in regard to a marriage where no act of espousal had taken place. In cases of espousal, the Roman church considered the spiritual marriage as complete, and that the church had therefore a right to enforce the engagement; but in the present instance, the parties not being in fact affianced, the matter remained merely as a simple treaty between two crowns; in regard to any differences concerning which, the Pope might very well mediate as the common Father of the Christian world, but had not the slightest pretence for resorting to such compulsory measures as excommunication and interdict, unless indeed some very peculiar circumstances existed to give a character to the transaction, different from that which it bore at the first view.

In the next place, this act was extraordinary, inasmuch as we do not find that it was preceded by any exhortation or remonstrance either on the part of Louis or on that of the Pope, in regard to the delay of Richard's marriage. Such a remonstrance indeed might have been made by

Louis, without coming down to our times; but it is very improbable that the document should have been lost, had the Pope preceded his threat of interdict by such a letter of admonition as might have been expected from him in ordinary circumstances.

Another remarkable fact connected with this whole proceeding is, that no unreasonable delay had in truth taken place; Richard himself was just nineteen, and the princess could not, by any account, be yet sixteen, and according to all the best statements, was only eleven years of age. If indeed the assertion of Henault and almost all other authors be correct, that Philip Augustus was the first child which Louis the Young had by his third wife, Alice of Champagne, the princess could not have been marriageable at this period; and therefore Louis could only, at the very utmost, demand that Henry should cause the ceremony of affiancing to be performed.

The many extraordinary circumstances connected with this transaction, and the lamentable result which ultimately took place, have caused historians to believe that Henry, even at this time, entertained a criminal passion for the Princess Alice of France, and have induced them to suppose and assert, that it was in consequence of indubitable evidence of this passion that the Pope and the King of France urged with such vehemence and haste the union of the Princess with Richard.

This hypothesis, however, is not only overturned by the fact of Alice's age, supposing her to have been born at the period usually assigned; but it is clearly shown to be erroneous by the after transactions of Louis, Henry, and the Pope; for we shall soon have to point out, that, upon a very slight consideration, Louis left the matter, which he now so eagerly pressed, entirely in suspense; and it can scarcely be supposed that, if he had known that Henry entertained the intention of seducing his daughter, he would have suffered her calmly to remain in his hands, would have made peace with that monarch, and would have resumed for a considerable time the most friendly intercourse with him. I am therefore perfectly convinced, that whatever was the age of the Princess Alice, the whole account of Henry's passion for her at this period is without the slightest foundation, and that Lord Lyttleton and others have allowed themselves—in attempting to account for matters which appeared strange and incongruous—to be betrayed into suppositions altogether inconsistent with the facts of history.

As soon as the arrival of the Legate in France was known to the King of England, and the powers with which he was invested were announced, Henry hastened his preparations for passing over to the continent, and at the same time appealed to the Pope himself against the interdict which the Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus was em-

powered to pronounce. The only object of the King in this proceeding must have been to gain time for negotiation with Louis; for there can be no doubt whatsoever that the legate had acted by the supreme Pontiff's authority, and that Alexander, freed from the apprehensions under which he had laboured while the schism continued, was now prepared to make the power of the church felt against all opposition.

The English monarch's expedition to France, however, was delayed for a considerable period, by the breaking out anew of an old wound in the thigh, which he had received some years before in his expedition against the rebels of Huntingdon and Norfolk. The injury indeed had not been inflicted by an enemy, but had been produced by a kick from the heels of a vicious horse belonging to one of his friends the knights Templars, who had accompanied him on the march. The King, with his usual hardy carelessness, had paid little attention to the matter at the time, but the wound now opened afresh, as I have said, while he was staying at Stanstead, and proved so severe as to force him to remove to Winchester before it could be healed.

At length, Henry departed from the British shore, and arrived in Normandy on the 19th of August 1177. In all probability, long ere that step was taken, various messages had passed between the kings of England and France, concern-

ing the matters in dispute between them; and immediately on Henry's arrival in his continental dominions, a place of conference between him and the French monarch, was appointed. The English sovereign, however, was apparently by this time reconciled to his eldest son, and they proceeded together to visit the Legate at Rouen, where, it would seem, Henry endeavoured to treat with Rome apart from France.

In that attempt he was unsuccessful; and finding that the interdict would certainly be enforced if he did not make some satisfactory arrangement with Louis, he hastened to meet that monarch, at Ivry, where a conference took place between the two courts of France and England, on the twenty-first of September. Here Louis again demanded, that the marriage of Richard with his daughter Alice should immediately take place, and Henry now replied that such should be the case, provided Louis would fulfil his own engagements, by making over the whole of the French Vexin to the younger Henry, and giving up the town of Bourges en Berri, with all its appurtenances, to Richard, on his union with Alice. The demand of Bourges and its appurtenances, as the dowry of the princess, could be considered by no means excessive, even had Louis not actually promised them to his daughter on her marriage. That territory certainly was a desirable object to Henry, lying in the neighbourhood both of Touraine and Poitou; but still it was not very

extensive, and the situation of the place was not such as to afford any great facility of injuring or annoying the French monarch.

Such however was not the case with the French Vexin. Had the English monarch obtained that province, the advanced posts of a dangerous neighbour and a vassal already too powerful, would have been within twenty miles of the French capital; and if Louis ever really was weak enough to promise the cession of that district, he was now counselled with too much sagacity to be willing to keep his word. He refused therefore either to surrender the Vexin to the younger Henry, or to give Bourges and its appendages to Richard, and we do not find that he offered to make any compensation, or to substitute another territory as an equivalent for that which he withheld.

How long the Princess Alice had been absolutely under the tutelage of Henry, I cannot tell; but Hoveden the chaplain of the King himself acknowledges that the English monarch had detained her in his custody as long, and longer, than had been agreed upon between himself and the King of France, so that there could not be the slightest pretext for not affiancing her to Richard, except the refusal of Bourges and the French Vexin. Had Louis, therefore, been really anxious to see his daughter espoused without farther delay, by the son of the English king, he would *certainly* not have resisted the demand of the former place,

though he might have reserved the question of the Vexin for after consideration; and had Alexander and the legate suspected that Henry was actuated in seeking delay, by a criminal passion for the French king's daughter, they would *certainly* have supported the demands of the King of France, by all the thunders of the Roman church. Louis, however, did not choose to cede Bourges; and rather than do so left his daughter in the hands of Henry; and the Pope and the legate consented to the marriage being delayed, or at least connived at its postponement, upon the sole condition that Henry should engage at some future period to accompany the King of France in an expedition to the Holy Land.

To this act it must be remembered that Henry had already bound himself, though he had always hitherto hesitated to fulfil his engagement. Additional motives, however, had lately arisen to induce Alexander to urge upon Christian kings the defence of Palestine against the infidels. These motives I shall mention, after having stated the conditions of the treaty which was now concluded between Louis and Henry by the advice of the legate, in which the question of the marriage of Alice and Richard is totally overlooked, as a matter of no importance whatsoever, so that any one who examines the document as it is given in Hoveden or in Rymer, must be satisfied that not the slightest suspicion of a passion on the part of Henry towards

the princess, existed in the mind either of the prelate or the King of France.*

The terms of the treaty are to the following effect.

First, it is agreed that the kings of France and England will take the cross, and go together to Jerusalem, for the service of Christendom. Secondly, that they will be friendly together, and defend each other against all other men, with their whole power, in life, limbs, and earthly honour. Thirdly, that neither will protect the enemies of the other. Fourthly, that to remove all cause of discord thenceforward, neither shall seek anything of the other in respect to the matters in dispute between them, except certain territories therein specified. Fifth, that if besides those territories specified, any others be called in question, the two kings being unable

* It is very extraordinary that Lord Lyttleton has not noticed this important fact. All that he says on the subject, is, "However this may have been, when the monarch discovered by his conference with the legate, that the sentence of the interdict would undoubtedly be pronounced against all his dominions, if he did not obey the Pope's mandate, he promised to do so, only begging for a respite till he had conferred with Louis. They accordingly met on the twenty-first of September, attended by the principal nobles of both realms. It seems the main obstacle to concord between them had been Henry's refusing to fulfil his engagement with regard to Richard's marriage: for, this point being yielded, all the others in dispute were either given up, or referred to arbitrators." The fact however is, that this point was not yielded; for Henry in express terms refused to permit the marriage without the cession of Bourges.

to agree regarding them themselves, shall refer the decision of their difference to twelve persons, three bishops and three noblemen being appointed on each side.

Several other clauses ensue, providing against the death or neglect of any of the arbitrators named, and pointing out what is to be done in the case of one of the monarchs proceeding on the crusade before the other, or of either of them dying in the course of the expedition. Other stipulations succeed, by which the territories of each sovereign are ensured against any hostile attempt on the part of the subjects of the other, during their absence from their several kingdoms, the regents and the governors on the part of France being bound to make oath, that in case of the dominions of Henry being attacked, they will defend them with all their power as zealously as they would defend Paris, were it besieged by an enemy; while on the part of the King of England it is agreed, that his lieutenants shall swear to defend the territories of the King of France, in case of attack, as zealously as they would fight to preserve Rouen, should it be assailed. The last clause of the whole provides for free mercantile intercourse between the two nations, and for the safety of merchants and travellers, whether of the clergy or the laity.

No time is fixed for the departure of the crusaders, but the treaty refers to some other convention which probably marked the period when they

were to set out; but the day was evidently remote, as the solemn taking of the cross was to intervene. This previous convention has not come down to us, for I cannot consider the brief treaty which is preserved by Diceto, and which is merely a transcript of the first part of the one given by Hoveden, Brompton, and Rymer, as the document mentioned therein; though it is valuable as giving us the date, 25th Sept., and the place where the document was signed, which was Nonancourt. It is as well to remark, however, that this convention which has been lost referred solely to the crusade, and could not by any chance contain a clause affecting the question of Richard's marriage, as the very earliest authority that gives the treaty declares at the same time that Henry positively refused to concede that point to Louis.

The King of France rested satisfied then that his daughter should remain in the hands of Henry for an indefinite period. One of the princess's maternal uncles, if not more, was present at the conferences of Ivry, and those nobles were the chief advisers of the French king, so that no doubt whatsoever can be entertained, that, Alice being probably not yet of a marriageable age, her relations were satisfied with the delay, and in no degree suspected that the English monarch was actuated by evil motives.

Amongst other matters which are referred to in the treaty, as having been subjects of dispute between the kings of France and England, is the fief

of Chateauroux, the sovereignty of which could not remain longer undecided without great inconvenience, as the lord of that territory, Raoul de Dol, was lately dead, leaving but one daughter, his heiress, of the age of three years. It would appear that although Chateauroux was undoubtedly an ancient fief of Aquitaine, yet the dissensions between Louis and Henry had emboldened the lord of La Châtre, who was a relation of the heiress, to resist the rights of the King of England; and, on the younger Henry besieging Chateauroux, in the beginning of the year 1177, he had carried the child off to his own abode, leaving that town to surrender to the English prince. The younger Henry had taken possession of Chateauroux, but had proceeded no farther against the lord of La Châtre; and, having, as before stated, joined his father and accompanied him to Rouen, he shared in the conferences of Ivry; but when they were over he was immediately sent into Berri to recover the ward who had been thus abstracted from the guardianship of the crown.

Henry II. remained for a short time at Verneuil, enacting some useful laws in regard to debtors and creditors; but then, finding that his eldest son made little progress against La Châtre, the monarch put himself at the head of his forces, marched into Berri, and was advancing with his usual rapidity upon La Châtre, when the lord of that place met him on his march and delivered up the daughter of

Raoul de Dol into his hands. This submission satisfied the King of England; and turning towards the south, he prepared to visit the scene of Richard's triumph over the insurgents of Poitou, and to inflict upon them, though not with any very severe hand, that punishment which had been suspended but not forgotten. Marching on then into the Limousin, Henry proceeded to sentence several noblemen in that district to various fines, on account of the resistance they had shown to Richard.*

It will be remarked, in all the judicial proceedings of the English king, that he very wisely preferred pecuniary amercements to any other sort of punishments, and in his political transactions that he preferred negotiation and the power of gifts, to violence and the force of arms, so that the annalist

* Lord Lyttleton, relying too much on the Abbot of Peterborough, seems to have found a difficulty in accounting for the punishments which Henry now inflicted. The Abbot says that these fines were levied on account of the aid which the Barons of Limousin had given to the sons of the English king in their rebellion. But the only connection between the act of justice now performed and that rebellion—for the offences actually committed in which, a promise of immunity had been given—was that the resistance which the lords of Angoumois and the Limousin had shown to Richard, was in consequence of the King's order for destroying the castles and fortifications which had been raised to support his sons in their rebellion. This order was beyond all doubt the first cause of revolt against Richard, who, as we have shewn, was opposed in arms as soon as he proceeded to execute it; and it was for this second revolt, and not for the first, that Henry proceeded to punish several of the nobles of the Limousin.

of Burton might well say of him "he was a prudent man, and defended the Duchy of Normandy both against the king Louis, father of Philip, and against Philip, afterwards king, more by money than by arms."*

From the Limousin Henry returned to Angers, where he spent Christmas-day; and then, feeling some anxiety in regard to his dominions in England and Ireland, he prepared once more to cross the sea. Before he did so, however, he sent to demand from the King of France what we may justly call letters of protection for his continental territories during his absence. This was immediately granted by Louis; and the act is so curious that I shall translate it here.—"Louis, king of the French, to all men to whom these present letters shall come, health! Be it known to you generally, that we receive into our custody all those lands of our most dear brother, Henry, king of England, which are situated on this side of the sea, if it should happen that he goes into England, or proceeds upon a pilgrimage; so that, if the bailiffs of his cismarine territories should require us, we will with good faith and without evil intent lend them counsel and aid for the defence and protection of the said territories."

Previous to this act, however, and apparently

* "Fuit autem prudens, et ducatem Normanniæ magis pecuniâ suâ quam armis defendebat contra regem Ludovicum, patrem Philippi, et contra Philippum postea regem."—*Annales Burton, ad ann. 1189.*

between the period of Henry's expedition against La Châtre and his visit to the Limousin, the English king had held another conference with Louis, regarding the sovereignty of Auvergne. Nothing was terminated indeed, at that conference; but all passed amicably between the two monarchs, and the decision of their respective claims was still left to the judgment of the arbitrators who had been named by the treaty of Nonancourt.

Towards the end of the year 1177, another event took place, which gave to Henry a considerable addition of territory. While pausing at Grammont, as he returned from one of his expeditions, he completed a negociation with the lord of La Marche, by which he acquired the whole of the lands of that nobleman, who had not long before lost his only son, the sole surviving heir of his titles and estates, and who, seized with the spirit of the times, was now eager to sell his patrimony, in order to pass the rest of his days in Palestine. The price given for the whole county of La Marche, only amounted to fifteen thousand angevin pounds; but to this sum were added twenty mules and twenty palfreys, with which the Count went away well content, intending to spend all he had thus obtained in that distant land, which had already drawn so much treasure from the western world. The vassals of La Marche did homage to the King of England; but before we go on to notice the further proceedings of Henry and his sons, it will be necessary to

take a general view of the state of Palestine, and to give some brief account of the various efforts that had been made by European princes to rescue the holy city from the hands of the Mahommedans, as the question of a new crusade, to be undertaken by the monarchs of France and England, now mingles more or less with almost every transaction of the times.

BOOK VI.

PARTICULAR places become dear to the heart of man more generally by the associations attached to them, than by their beauty, convenience, or fertility. Nor is this the case only as affecting individuals; for attachment founded on memories or traditions binds tribes and nations likewise to certain spots, and this is carried so far that occasionally, at the very name of a distant country, the bosoms of men who have never seen it will yearn with feelings of affection or devotion, or will throb with emotions of joy, or pride, or hope. In regard to no land can such deep and strong sensations be excited by the great power of association, as those which are awakened by that country where dwelt the nation chosen to preserve, through ages of the darkest idolatry and in the midst of all the abominations of paganism, the knowledge of the true God, and the oracles of His holy will. That region, too, but especially the holy city its capital, must be rendered even more

sublimely dear to the heart of every Christian, when he recollects by whom and how was there worked out the crowning mercy of man's salvation. Thus the natural reverence which the whole of Christendom has ever felt towards the scene of our Saviour's miracles and sufferings, has made Palestine an object of pilgrimage to numbers in all ages, since first the Empress Helena herself set the example, and proceeded to visit the newly-discovered tomb of Christ. The sepulchre itself, or that which was supposed to be the sepulchre, was found, we are assured, beneath a temple erected to Venus by the Romans, after the capture and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus ; and, Constantine, having caused the heathen temple to be cast down, and a Christian church to be erected in its place, that edifice became the chief object of the pilgrim's devotion in Jerusalem, and the journey was generally called "the visit to the holy sepulchre."

From the time of the conversion of Constantine till the apostacy of Julian, the pilgrimages continued uninterrupted under the Roman Emperors ; and it is probable that during that period the Christians of the holy city, barbarous and ignorant as they were, and corrupted by those false doctrines which too soon began to mingle with the truths of Christianity, contrived to multiply superstitious inducements, in order to lure greater numbers of the devout to the scene of man's redemption. The cross on which our Saviour suffered was said

to have been found buried in the earth ; and though suspicions in regard to the fact have of course been propagated and received in after ages, at those times this wonderful discovery was never doubted by any Christian, or, at most, doubted in silence and secrecy. A number of other relics, the perishable nature of which rendered their réappearance at the end of three hundred years even more miraculous than that of the cross itself, were speedily added to the treasures of Jerusalem, and were regarded with the utmost devotion by the pilgrims, who increased the wealth of the holy city, not only by the money that they spent therein, but also by the purchase of parts of all these sacred objects, which soon became endowed with the quality of infinite divisibility.

At length, however, succeeded Julian the Apostate, whose great military and political talents have been considered a sufficient compensation for his religious insanity. But even Julian himself, with all his passionate eagerness in favor of the Pagan deities of Rome and Greece, his fondness for the idol and the sacrifice, could not divest himself of the reverence universally felt for a city in which the worship of one pure God had been maintained from immemorial ages, while all the rest of the world was in darkness and pollution ; and at the same time that he insulted the Jewish priest by offering to admit the God of the Hebrews into the number of the deities which he worshipped, his capacious superstition proposed to réerect the

temple of Jerusalem, which Titus had destroyed. With the energy which characterised all his actions, Julian proceeded in the task which he had assigned to himself; and, as the first step, recalled the dispersed Jews to the city of their fathers. Mount Moriah was taken possession of by the forces of the Emperor; the Jews themselves volunteered in aid of the workmen; immense powers of mind and body were employed to carry on the building with the utmost rapidity; and large sums of money were voluntarily poured forth to give it magnificence and durability.

But the temple of Jerusalem was not destined to be rebuilt by the hands of the Apostate; and though the mountain of the temple itself was in the hands of the Jews and the Pagans alone,—though the Christians were powerless in the presence of the infidel legions, and not the slightest possibility of interference, fraud, or opposition existed to impede the work of the daring idolator,—yet all the efforts of Alypius, the friend to whom Julian entrusted the execution of his design, were insufficient to raise the walls of the temple from the state of prostrate destruction in which the ploughshare of Titus had left them.

The Christians remained as spectators of the undertaking, confident that the prophetic announcement, that the fall of the Temple was final, could not be made of no effect even by all the power of the empire; and they were gratified, but not surprised, when

first the whirlwind, and then the earthquake, and then the explosion of subterraneous fires, destroyed the labours of Alypius and his coadjutors almost as fast as they were performed. The workmen, alarmed, dispirited, and injured by the continual bursting forth of balls of fire from the earth in which they were laying the foundations, could scarcely be brought back to their task; and at length, the friend of Julian himself, despairing of vanquishing an opponent against whom he had no defence, abandoned the attempt, and left the blackened and ruined fragments of the walls which he had endeavoured to raise, as a monument to after times of this unsuccessful impiety.

While this great enterprise was in progress, the Emperor attempted by every means but that of actual bloodshed to drive the Christians to abandon their religion; but in this, of course, he was unsuccessful, and his efforts to replant the Jewish nation, and to raise up the temple, only gave an additional interest to the Holy City in the eyes of the Christian world. After the death of Julian and the accession of Christian emperors, the pilgrimages to Jerusalem, which had never been altogether abandoned, were resumed with greater zeal than ever; and the city was filled with votaries, who we have too much reason to believe were not always of the most chaste or pious character.

The Roman empire continued Christian; but weakness succeeded luxury and division: the western

portion of the vast fabric fell under the repeated and violent blows of barbarian enemies, and the eastern portion only lingered for a time to give way by slow degrees to decrepitude, and sink under a gradual decay.

In the middle of the sixth century arose, in the heart of Arabia, a man of extraordinary powers of mind and body, who, assuming the character of a prophet and a lawgiver, speedily established in the east the tenets of a new religion, one of the chief injunctions of which was, to go forth and subdue all nations to the faith of this daring teacher. The sword was appointed by Mahommed as the great instrument of conversion ; and the race of hardy warriors who were amongst the first to embrace his doctrines, were not only willing but eager to follow the precept which taught them to encounter danger and death in the pursuit of plunder, conquest, and immortal sensuality. With wonderful penetration, Mahommed not only calculated upon the general character of man and his debased nature, but so skilfully made use of all the corruption, superstition, and barbarous ignorance, which had superseded the purity, spirituality, and light of Christianity in the east, as to render it very easy for multitudes of those persons who called themselves Christians without knowing or feeling the truths of the religion they professed, to embrace the tenets which he promulgated. It appears that, in framing his religion, while he held out every temp-

tation for all classes of men to join his sect, he designedly smoothed the way for all, linking his doctrines, by various contrivances, to the faith, the prejudices, the superstitions, the passions, and the desires of the various nations by which he was surrounded. In favor of the Jews, he admitted Moses as a prophet, circumcision as a divine institution, and the abhorrence of swine as a religious duty. For the Christians, he held forth the name of Jesus as worthy of all veneration, recognised the Virgin as a saint of the holiest character, and even adopted St. George of Capadocia, under the name of Al Khidr, as something more than mortal, investing him with attributes nearly approaching to ubiquity. Many other inducements of the same kind were extended to heathen tribes, besides the unlimited gratification permitted to sensual enjoyment in this world, and the promise of still greater pleasures of the same kind in another. Unlike other great founders of new creeds, he excited the enthusiasm, the zeal, and the fanaticism of his votaries, by direct appeals to their animal nature; and bloodshed, lust, and plunder, were amongst the first duties inculcated and the rewards promised by his religion.

I dwell upon what was evil rather than upon what was good, and wise, and prudent in the doctrines of Mahommed, not because I wish to depreciate the character of that most extraordinary man, but because those evil parts were the principal agents in spreading his tenets with such re-

markable rapidity ; in which respect the history of Mahommedanism is strikingly contrasted with that of Christianity, the Christian faith having set out to wage eternal war with all the bad passions of man's nature, while the religion of the False Prophet called all those passions to its aid. Thus supported, it is not at all wonderful that the doctrines of Mahommed made speedy converts.

Civil dissensions and barbarous contests amongst this teacher's successors delayed the march of Mahommedanism for a short time ; but as soon as these had ceased, the spirit of conquest and conversion went forth together with tremendous power. The first monarchs of the new dynasty led their scanty followers on all occasions, and acted more as the chieftains of a barbarous tribe, than the sovereigns of a great people. Speedily, however, the Khalifs, as their dominions increased and new lands and nations every day acknowledged their sway, assumed the dignity of empire, without losing the activity of their race and character. They ruled, directed, and guided, but did not appear at the head of every army, or meddle with minor operations. Thus Omar, who succeeded to the throne of Medina, even while the memory of man was full of the personal demeanor of Mahommed, entrusted to his lieutenants many important enterprises, and only appeared when some extraordinary display of power was required, to attain a great and difficult object.

The Emperor Heraclius, the contemporary of Omar, evinced in one part of his life some of the military virtues which once rendered the Roman name illustrious; but towards his latter years he fell into indolence, if not into effeminacy, and at this period the Khalif determined upon the conquest of Syria. The gallant defence of Damascus, had it been supported by equal efforts in the field, might have restored the honour of the Roman name, and preserved the Syrian provinces from the fury of the Saracens. But the fatal battle of Aiznadin was soon followed by the fall of Damascus; and Heliopolis and Emesa were next attacked and taken, while the signal defeat of the imperial troops on the banks of the Hieromax, or Yarmuc, placed the whole of Syria entirely at the disposal of the successor of Mahommed. But a short distance now remained for the Khalif's arms to travel in order to reach Jerusalem; but more important conquests might perhaps have called the attention of Omar in another direction, had not the Holy City of the Jews been an object of as much reverence to Mussulmans as to the Hebrews and Christians. Mahommed himself, in answer to a question of Ibn Salem, declared that the Al Aksa, or temple at Jerusalem, was to be revered, because it was in the exact centre of the world; and moreover, he informed Abu Tharir that it was next to the Kaaba of Mecca. All these declarations upon the part of Mahommed combining with the general precepts of

his religion, which inculcated the deepest veneration for all places whatsoever where the prophets and teachers, either of the Mosaic or the Christian doctrines, had lived and died, rendered Jerusalem itself an object of interest and devotion to his successor, Omar, and he speedily commanded his lieutenants to carry their arms in that direction. After the invasion of Syria, however, and the fall of Damascus, the fortifications of Jerusalem had been strengthened by every means that the military skill of the day could devise. The garrison had been increased by a number of veteran soldiers, and religious zeal augmented the courage and determination of the defenders. Abu Ubaidah and his companions, who carried on the siege, were detained for several months beneath the walls of the Holy City. Seated on her mountains, surrounded with high walls, filled with a zealous people, and defended by resolute officers and experienced troops, Hierosolyma might well offer a protracted resistance, and believe herself impregnable by any of the efforts which the Arabs, unskilful in the use of military engines, could employ against her. But famine, that desperate though slow means, could not be repelled, and the Arabs knew that it must at length succeed against the defenders of the city. This knowledge encouraged them to persevere through the severities of a very inclement winter, against loss by cold and disease, and against the continual determined and gallant sallies of their ene-

mies from within the walls. Nor was their perseverance in the end unsuccessful. No aid appeared to succour the besieged ; no prospect of deliverance was to be seen ; multitudes of women and children thronged the city, as well as aged and infirm men who had come thither to close their days amidst the scenes of the Redemption, and maidens who had dedicated their lives to God. Despair took possession of those in command, and at length a parley being demanded, Abu Ubaidah granted a truce to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, till such time as Omar himself could come to ratify the capitulation which was agreed upon between the Patriarch and the Moslems, and in person take possession of the Holy City. This extraordinary demand of the presence of the Khalif himself was formally made by the Christians of the besieged place, probably from a fearful recollection of Kaled's cruelty, if not treachery, after the capture of Damascus ; and Omar, granting the condition readily, immediately set out with but a small body of cavalry for Jerusalem.

Various very doubtful legends have come down to us in regard to this singular pilgrimage of the Khalif, all of which have been embodied by Gibbon in a graceful but somewhat suspicious narrative. The accounts, however, of all the various contemporaries, whose statements have been gathered together by the Arabian historian of the Temple of Jerusalem, show that, whether Omar

did or did not travel upon a red camel, with no other provision than a bag of dates and a bottle of water, his whole manners were simple, and his equipage not costly—whether he did or did not, in the course of his journey, “punish the licentiousness of some tribes, and the luxury of others, by acts which savoured more of tyranny than simplicity,” he reproved men for their vices and ostentation both by his words and his demeanour.

Without giving a long list of names which to our ears would only sound barbarous and inharmonious, I need merely say, in regard to the fall of Jerusalem, that three or four of the most respectable Arabian historians give entirely the same account of the long Christian resistance, of the proposal of the Patriarch to yield, and of envoys both from the Greeks and the Mussulmans, having been sent to Omar after a truce had been agreed upon, to require his presence under the walls, before the city would surrender. They relate also the astonishment of the ostentatious and fastidious Greeks, at finding the Commander of the Faithful simple in his manners and habits, and hardy in his mode of life.

Without any hesitation, Omar hastened immediately to Jerusalem, at the head of four thousand cavalry, and at once confirmed the terms which had been agreed upon for the capitulation of the city; though if the language in which Abu Ubaidah addressed him was at all accurate, the

situation of the inhabitants of Jerusalem must soon have compelled them to surrender at discretion.

“We have stood firm,” said the Mussulman commander, “against the people of Elia, and they thought that in their procrastination there would be relief, but God never withdrew from them weakness and loss, and leanness and misery.”

The terms were not severe. An annual tribute was imposed on all the native inhabitants of Jerusalem, and equitably apportioned amongst three classes, into which Omar divided the people according to their wealth. Five dinars of gold were exacted from each of the richest, four from each of the next, and three from each of the next; but the very old and the very young were exempted from all tribute. The Greeks were ordered to depart within three days, upon pain of death, but the Christian temples were respected according to the capitulation; and though the Khalif reverently visited the church of the Holy Sepulchre, he went out at the hour of prayer, and offered his adoration on the steps of the building. The property of the inhabitants also was spared; but if we are to believe the account of the Arabian authors, the inhabitants of Syria on surrendering to their Mussulman conquerors, universally submitted to various degrading stipulations regarding their dress, arms, and customs. They became, therefore, not only a tributary, but a subjected people.

Although Omar strictly kept the capitulation to

which he had agreed respecting the churches and inhabitants of Jerusalem, yet he immediately commenced the erection of a mosque on the site of the ancient temple of Solomon. It is probable that the ruins which had been left after the vain attempt of Julian had by this time been swept away, for we are assured that the place where the former structure had stood was now used as a common sewer, and was so filthy as to defile the garments of the Khalif and his companions. Here, however, very soon arose that famous mosque, which, under the name of Al Aksa, has in all ages been looked upon by the Mussulmans as second only in sanctity to the Kaaba of Mecca. Immense was the labour and the wealth expended on this building, and the consecration of the Mosque was little less pompous and magnificent than that of the original Temple of Solomon itself.

After this period Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Mussulmans during several centuries, and afforded an object of dangerous pilgrimage to Christians from all parts of Europe; while the followers of Mahommed rejoiced in the privilege of visiting freely one of their most holy places, situated as they believed in the very centre of the world.

The state of the Christians of Syria varied of course according to all the changes which affected their Mussulman masters, and more especially according to the temper and character of the sovereign

who occupied the throne of the Eastern world. In the beginning of the eighth century, it would seem that they were much oppressed, and the pilgrims who visited the holy places had to endure many severe and unmerited hardships, so that the act of devotion often terminated in martyrdom. At length, however, the two greatest monarchs that the eastern and western world had seen for many ages, arose almost at once, and Charlemagne and Haroun Al Raschid negotiated with feelings of mutual admiration and respect concerning the fate of the Christians of the east. The reverence which the Khalif had conceived for the French sovereign* induced him both to give every assurance of safety and security to the pilgrims who annually visited the holy places, and to promise protection and support to the Christian in-

* I have continued to regard Charlemagne here as a French or Frankish Prince; although in a very clever article which appeared upon my History of Charlemagne, in the Quarterly Review, the reviewer objected to my using the term of French and France, to express the subjects and dominions of that monarch. He calls this mode of expression *unphilosophical*, and wishes me to adopt the pretension of the Germans, who would fain claim that great Prince as their own—I suppose because the Franks were originally a German tribe. But long before the days of Charlemagne the Franks settled in another country, had become French. The hereditary patrimony of Charlemagne and his brother, comprised the whole of France within her natural geographical boundaries, and very little indeed of Germany; and though the great monarch added other territories thereto by his sword, yet those were so various that one might as well have called him an Avar or a Lombard, as a German. The guide I

habitants of Judea. These engagements he strictly performed, but he went farther still; the communications opened between the two courts of Bagdad and Aix-la-Chapelle, only served to increase the esteem which the Khalif had conceived for Charlemagne, and amongst the various presents which Haroun sent to the Christian monarch, were the keys and standard of the city of Jerusalem. This standard has very generally been considered as a symbol of the sovereignty of the city, which the Khalif is supposed to have conferred upon the Emperor; but I do not find that Charlemagne attempted to exercise any act of sovereignty in the Holy City, unless the establishment of a hospital and library therein, for the use of pilgrims, could be so construed.

The successors of Haroun for some years con-

followed, however, in forming my opinion and adopting the term France to signify the hereditary dominions of Charlemagne, was not likely to lead me wrong, or plunge me into an unphilosophical error, as he certainly had the best means of knowing what was the name of the monarch's territories in his own days. This was Eginhard, the secretary of Charlemagne himself, who takes especial care not to call the dominions of his sovereign Gaul or Germany, but France. Now it probably may strike some writer a thousand years hence, to call England Saxony, and the English people as they now exist after centuries of occupation and intimate mixture with many other nations, Germans; but till some precise rule is laid down for such changes, I must adhere to the name of the country, and the people I am writing of, according to the best contemporary authority I can find.

tinued to show a certain degree of protection to the Latin pilgrims and to the Christian inhabitants of Palestine ; but at length the Fate-mite race of Khalifs succeeded, and a number of persecutions took place, in which, of course, the terms of the capitulation of Jerusalem and the promises of the Raschid were altogether forgotten. At length, in the year 996, the Khalif Hakim Bamrillah ascended the throne of Egypt. He was the son of a Christian mother, and it having been said of him as a matter of reproach, that he also was a Christian, he ordered the Church of the Resurrection to be destroyed. This, however, was but the first act of a long series of persecutions. The ceremonies of the Christian religion were forbidden on pain of death; the sons and daughters of the Christians were carried off and caused to apostatize; immense tributes and exactions were laid upon the people, and continual pretences were found either to impose fresh taxes or exercise new cruelties. The Khalif Daher, who succeeded Hakim, proved more mild. He permitted the followers of Christ to build a new church upon the foundations of the old one which his father had destroyed, and some respite was obtained, for a short period, from the many miseries which the Christian people had undergone. Still, however, the most painful indignities were daily offered to the faithful, and the most excessive tributes were exacted from them, till the Khalifate itself sinking into decay, gave way be-

fore the bands of wandering Turcomans, who poured down like an inundation from the north and east, when once more Jerusalem was taken by an infidel force, and greater evils than ever were inflicted upon the disciples of the Saviour.

During all this time, notwithstanding the difficulties and the dangers of the way, thousands of pilgrims yearly bent their steps towards Jerusalem; but now, after having encountered a thousand chances of death, passed through numerous enemies' countries, endured the perils of the sea, the thirst of the desert, and the fury of the barbarians, when they arrived at the gates of the Holy City, a piece of gold was exacted from each before he was permitted to enter, and as may well be supposed, few, if any, of the unhappy wanderers possessed, in an age when the precious metals were comparatively rare, a sum sufficient to pay the due exacted at the gates. Obligated to remain, with the bourne of all his long pilgrimage still unattained—the object of all his enthusiastic hopes, the place of refuge and repose for which he had longed and prayed, not yet reached—the pilgrim was generally condemned either to die of want and misery in the suburbs of the city, or to wend his way backward, disappointed and destitute, till he dropped of weariness by the roadside, and death came to put an end to his sufferings.*

* I have copied a great part of this account from William of Tyre; certainly the most classical as well as one of the most

Still, however, the pilgrimages continued, though all the visitors of the Holy City who did return to Europe, bore a terrible testimony to the dangers and horrors of the way. In the tenth century, indeed, it would seem, more devotees flocked to the holy places, than at any other period, from a general belief that at the end of a thousand years from the death of Christ the great general judgment was to take place, and the Moslems lost not the opportunity of gratifying both their taste for rapine and for blood. The sufferings that the pilgrims endured at length roused the indignation of Christendom; and at the same time the encroachments of the Mahomedan populations which now overspread Asia, proving more and more dangerous every day to the eastern empire, the Greek monarchs wrote various letters to the manifold princes who at that time ruled Christendom, praying for assistance against the common enemies of their faith. In these letters may be discovered the first idea of a crusade, which is to be found more clearly developed in an epistle of Pope Sylvester II. towards the close of the tenth century. Gregory VII. likewise announced such an undertaking, but did not press it upon the attention of the sovereigns of Europe with the same energy which he had at first displayed.

Still, however, from day to day was sent over

copious and veracious historians of the Crusade. His means of obtaining information, even in regard to those points where he was not an eye-witness of the facts which he recounts, were such as to merit all confidence.

to their brethren, one unvarying tale of desolation, destruction, cruelty, and oppression, by the persecuted Christians of Palestine. The weary pilgrim spread it through all lands as he passed; the letters of bishops and priests who had quitted Europe to die amidst the scenes where the awful expiation of man's sins was worked out, communicated to courts and castles and religious communities, fresh instances, every year, of sufferings borne and barbarities committed, and the outrages of the infidel became the conversation of the palace, the lamentation of the monastery, the marvel of the cottage. Imagination added to all that was told, and general indignation, horror; and compassion, prepared the way for the preaching of Peter the Hermit.

At the same time, the spirit of chivalry, and of chivalrous adventure, had been spreading throughout Europe, gaining power every hour, and panting with increased strength for farther scope to exercise its mighty functions. The nobility of all European lands thirsted for some glorious enterprise; and the hearts of all Christian nations burned to avenge the wrongs of their Syrian brethren.

It was at this time that a man appeared in Europe, with the voice and appearance of one inspired, directing the energies of all the inhabitants of this quarter of the globe towards one great and splendid undertaking, pointing out to the spirit of

chivalry a deed worthy of achievement, and calling upon all the followers of Christ to fight for the deliverance of their fellow Christians. Little is known of this man's early life, except that he was born in the city of Amiens, and that he had been alternately a soldier, a priest, and a hermit. Full of that deep and religious enthusiasm which can probably never be felt but by minds of a high tone, and which is always sure to give additional powers, in its own particular direction, to the character by which it is conceived, Peter the Hermit had been seized some time before with an ardent desire of visiting the holy places of Palestine; and, setting out for that purpose, he had accomplished his journey in safety. He paid the price of gold at the gates; and must have been already in some degree distinguished for his sanctity, as we find from the account of William of Tyre, that he was admitted gladly into the house of one of the Christians of Jerusalem, and was made a sharer of all the griefs and injuries of that persecuted people. His horror and indignation were excited in the highest degree, by what he saw and heard. His religious feelings were also roused to the wildest enthusiasm, by the sight of those places, which were all most holy in his eyes, profaned by the presence and the power of the infidel; and resolved to dedicate the remainder of his life to some great enterprise for the deliverance of Palestine from the yoke under which it groaned, he demanded and obtained an interview

with the Patriarch, Simeon, who opened his whole heart to him, and confidently trusted him with his own most secret views and wishes.

Here again we have another proof, that both by established character and by personal demeanour, Peter the Hermit was even at this time an eminent and extraordinary man; for it is impossible to suppose that a prelate remarkable for wisdom as well as piety, would have put such confidence in an untried enthusiast, as Simeon reposed in Peter the Hermit. That pilgrim, who had already visited all the holy places, and performed his devotions at all the shrines, now laid before the Patriarch his scheme for delivering the Christians of Syria from the merciless swords of the Saracens; and in furtherance thereof Simeon gave him a letter to the Pope and the princes of the west, calling upon them for aid and protection in the terrible circumstances wherein the Church at Jerusalem was placed. This letter was sealed with the Patriarch's own seal; and, had it fallen into the hands of the infidels, would have brought down upon the heads of all the Christians of Palestine the unsparing rod which had already so often smitten them. "But the Patriarch," says William of Tyre, "knew the Hermit to be a man full of prudence and experience of the things of the world;" and Peter promised to go throughout the whole of Europe, preaching the deliverance of Jerusalem in the court of every sovereign.

Again and again, before he set out, he visited the Church of the Resurrection, praying fervently and long for resolution and faith, and strength of mind and body to accomplish his arduous enterprise; and then, full of zeal and hope, he took his departure for Europe, believing that one day, having fallen asleep in the church, he had seen the Saviour, in a vision, who exhorted him to hasten on his journey and persevere in his design. Though we in the present day may refuse to credit that any revelation of the Divine will did take place in the case of Peter the Hermit, yet it is more than probable that the dream did actually occur as he stated it, and that it appeared to him with all the brightness of reality. The excited state of his mind and feelings, the scenes which were passing every day before his eyes, the facts which were continually present to his thoughts, might very well produce such a vision during sleep; and it is also very probable that sleep did fall upon him when, worn out with fasting and prayer, he remained alone in the church of the Resurrection. Such images having been impressed vividly on his mind, the zeal with which he was filled, and the strong conviction which he entertained that the enterprise in which he was engaged was of the greatest importance, naturally made him suppose that the vision proceeded from a special design of the Almighty. Nor was the same belief withheld by any of those to whom he related what he had seen; and thus en-

dowed with very great natural abilities, and believing that he acted under the direct influence of God, he went forth with all the powers necessary for his undertaking.

In Europe, however, to which the Hermit now bent his steps, there reigned at that time a schism, which seemed likely to prove an insurmountable obstacle to the views and endeavours of the enthusiastic pilgrim. The Pope, Gregory VII., had not long closed his eyes,—being at the period of his death an exile from Rome, plunged into fierce contentions with the Emperor Henry, who had driven him into Apulia—and Urban II. had been raised to the papal throne, taking up with the tiara, the quarrel of his predecessor with the contumacious Germans. When Peter the Hermit arrived in Italy, disputes of a serious character likewise existed between Urban and Philip King of France; while the Saxon power in England had fallen before the hands of the Normans, and both Normandy and Great Britain presented none of those elements of peace and security which at first sight might appear necessary to the undertaking of great and distant expeditions. Little or no assistance was to be expected from Spain, where the Saracen power was predominant; and thus throughout all Europe, divisions and contentions, the ambition of some, the licentiousness of others, and the ignorance and barbarism of all, appeared to offer but a dim prospect of success to

the efforts of the pilgrim from the Holy Land. He reached the presence of Urban, however, while the pontiff was still in Apulia, protected from the fury of the Emperor by the famous Bohemond, Prince of Tarentum, who after the death of his father, Robert Guiscard, had succeeded to a portion of that great adventurer's territories, and had subsequently made himself master of still more, by his own active and grasping spirit and the weakness or good humour of his brother. The pilgrim from Palestine laid before the Pope the letter of the Patriarch, and Urban listened with tears to a long account of the cruelties which had been inflicted on the Christians in Palestine. He heard also the scheme which his enthusiastic visitor had formed for raising the people of Europe to avenge and protect the sufferers; but he paused ere he returned an answer.

In the circumstances which surrounded him at the time, it was perfectly natural for Urban to consult the celebrated warrior who had shown him constant friendship and undeviating support; and in a conference between the Pope and the great Norman leader, it was determined to give every support to Peter the Hermit, and to adopt his views for the delivery of Palestine to the very fullest extent. Whether political considerations did or did not affect the pontiff and the prince; whether Urban saw in the proposals of Peter, a means of reuniting and invigorating the church, of which he was the head;

whether Bohemond anticipated an occasion of pursuing his ambitious views in Greece; or whether, as I myself believe, the churchman was animated alone by the religious zeal and the warrior by the military spirit of their times, can never perhaps be clearly ascertained: but certain it is, that they both proceeded eagerly to give effect to the proposals of the wandering hermit; and the Pope promising to call the people of Europe to arms for the relief of Palestine, sent forth the pilgrim as a precursor, to prepare the way for that great and extraordinary enterprise.

Peter set out on his task with zeal, eloquence, and that imposing earnestness of manner, which is more convincing to the heart of man than the finest oratory. He was mounted on a mule, and clad in the coarse apparel of a hermit, was small in stature, mean in appearance, and bore an aspect altogether unprepossessing. But yet, with all these disadvantages, he penetrated into the courts of princes, and forced the mighty of the earth to hear him. We have distinct accounts of his demeanour and person, from two eye-witnesses, one of whom was present at the council of Clermont, and saw the hermit there, while the other beheld him as he passed through the towns and villages of France. The first of these, Robert the monk, tells us that Peter was highly esteemed amongst those who knew most of worldly affairs, and in matters of religion and piety, was superior to all the bishops and abbots.

He ate neither bread nor meat, that author adds, but partook of all other food, though with great frugality.

The second author whom I have mentioned, Guibert, or Gilbert of Nogent, gives a more detailed account, both of his appearance and of his general conduct. "He set out," says that writer, "from the superior part of Gaul, I know not with what design, but we saw him at that time passing through the towns and villages, and preaching everywhere, while the people surrounding him in crowds, loaded him with presents, and celebrated his sanctity with such loud acclamations, that I never remember to have beheld similar honours paid to any one. He showed great generosity, however, in the distribution of the things given to him. He brought back to their homes women who had left their husbands, and restored peace and concord where there was discord, with wonderful authority. In everything that he said or did, there seemed something divine, so that the people even took the hairs of his mule to keep them as relics."

"In the open air," continues the same writer, "he wore a woollen tunic, and above that a coarse brown mantle, which fell to his heels. He had his arms and his feet bare, ate no bread, or very little, and supported himself on fish and wine."

Onward he passed throughout the whole of Europe. From town to town, from province to province, from country to country, he went, preach-

ing the crusade to all, and calling the Christian world to arm for the defence of their brethren of Palestine, and for the punishment of their cruel oppressors. Wonderful success attended his efforts. The people followed him wherever he came; the old and the young, the rich and the poor, listened to the inspiring words which broke from his lips; the military spirit of Europe was at its acme; chivalry was in the vigour of its early youth; the religious enthusiasm of the age only wanted an object; all the gates of the human heart were open to the eloquence of the preacher, and the zeal of the one half of the world was aroused by the voice of a single pilgrim.

Nor was the Pope himself backward, nor Bohemond behind. The latter prepared to bear the standard of the cross into the heart of Palestine: the former, after having held a council at Placentia, hastened to pass the Alps, and cast himself at once into the dominions of a king whom he had offended and excommunicated, for the purpose of fulfilling the promise which he had made to the hermit, and calling the Christian world to arms for the deliverance of Jerusalem.

Surely the Norman prince and the supreme pontiff gave by their acts the most powerful contradiction to the suspicion which has been perpetuated by William of Malmesbury, that both were actuated in their encouragement of the crusade by a narrow and pitiful ambition. A general council was an-

nounced by Urban to be held in France; but several changes took place in regard to the day and the spot at which the Pope was to meet the great body of the church; and it may be supposed that some consideration as to his personal safety influenced the pontiff in this vacillation, one of his open and avowed objects being to reform abuses, and punish the licentiousness of the French monarch. The council was at length definitely fixed to meet at the town of Clermont, in Auvergne, which, although it was situated within the limits of the King of France's dominions, yet was more immediately under the rule of the powerful dukes of Aquitaine, whose authority, perhaps, might have afforded some security to the pontiff, if Philip had thought fit to proceed to any act of violence.

Urban arrived at Valence, on the Rhone, in July 1095. The day fixed for the council was the eighteenth of November, in the same year; and the Pope employed the interval in visiting the southern parts of France, which, possessed by great feudatories, were almost independent of the crown. It is probable that during this journey he made known to many persons his designs in regard to the crusade. At length, however, he turned his steps towards Clermont, and arrived on the fourteenth of November in that city, where he was met by an immense number of bishops, abbots, clergymen, and nobles, all filled with the expectation of hearing some extraordinary proposal touching the deli-

very of Jerusalem, for which the minds of men throughout Europe had been prepared by the preaching of Peter the Hermit. The council was opened with matters totally distinct from that with which it was destined to conclude, and many rules and regulations were made, several causes judged, and various disputes arranged, on which I shall not touch in this place.

After the council had sat for a week, however, during which the human tide of listeners flowed daily from all parts of Europe towards Clermont, Urban proceeded into the great square, where the whole multitude had assembled to hear him, and there, surrounded by priests, prelates, princes, and all the chivalry of Europe, he addressed the meeting in one of the most eloquent speeches that have been transmitted to us in the records of history. That it was not, perhaps, word for word such as Robert the monk has preserved, may be admitted without in any degree lessening our admiration of the skill and genius which the pontiff displayed in working upon all the feelings, passions, and prejudices of his hearers. He spoke to the people of Europe, then, as a race peculiarly favoured by God ; he dwelt upon their prowess, and their adherence to the Christian faith ; and he drew a terrible picture of the wrongs and miseries of their brethren of Palestine. He told them that their fellow-christians of the east were trampled under the feet of infidel nations, strangers to God

and enemies to man, that fire and plunder and the sword had desolated the land deservedly called Holy, and that her children were slain in the battle, or enslaved, or died under tortures, all the horrors of which he depicted in the most fearful manner. He declared that the women of that country were subjected to the lust of the heathen, and that God's own altar, the symbols of salvation, and the relics of the saints, were daily desecrated by the filthy abominations of the pagans. "To whom," he cried, "to whom does it belong to punish all this—to arrest all this? To whom but you, who have received from the Lord, above all other nations, glory in arms, greatness of soul, activity of body, and strength to trample on the heads of all who resist you. Oh, brave knights!" he cried, after pointing out the glorious deeds of Charlemagne and others, "oh, brave knights! offspring of invincible fathers, degenerate not from the glory of your ancestors; and if you feel held back from the course before you by the soft ties of domestic love, call to mind the words of our Lord himself, who said, 'Whosoever loves father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and whosoever shall abandon for my name's sake, his house, or his father, or his mother, or his wife, or his children, or his lands, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall possess eternal life.'"

The pontiff, however, did not bound his exhortation to the prospect of mere spiritual advantages;

he held out as the reward of those who should take the cross, a thousand temporal objects of desire. Europe, according to his account, was but a dry and sterile country, Palestine a land flowing with milk and honey. Then again, he proceeded to speak once more of holier inducements, and represented the country to which he bade them go, as the land which the Redeemer of the human race had rendered illustrious by his advent, had honoured by his residence, consecrated by his passion, redeemed by his death, signalized by his sepulture.

“The royal city of Jerusalem,” he went on, “placed in the very centre of the world,* now held captive by her enemies, and made the handmaid of nations altogether ignorant of God, calls incessantly for aid and deliverance. From you above all other people on the earth, she demands this aid, because, as I have before said, God has granted you above all others, glory and might in arms. Go, then, take the way before you for the remission of your sins, secure of the imperishable glory of the kingdom of heaven.”

The moment that the Pontiff paused, a loud shout burst from the attentive multitude, every voice exclaiming, with one impulse, “God wills it! God wills it!” Urban seized upon the moment of enthusiasm, adopted the very words which were

* It is remarkable that Urban should use precisely the same figure to express the præminence of Jerusalem, that Mahommed had done before him.

shouted forth in all the languages of the varied crowd that surrounded him, declared that God himself had prompted those words, and ordered the people to use them as their battle-cry in every struggle with the infidels. "Let the army of the Lord," he said, "when it rushes upon His enemies, shout but that one sound, 'God wills it! God wills it!'"

To this inspiring address, the Pontiff added a number of wise and important regulations calculated to fix the people in their determination, and to guide them in executing it with prudence and caution. He forbade the journey to the old, and the weak, and all those who were unfit to bear arms. He cautioned women not to undertake the crusade except in the company of their husbands, or brothers, or lawful guardians; he bade the clergy require in all cases, permission of their spiritual superior, and he called upon the rich to assist the poor, and not only to go themselves, but to lead to the Holy Land others who could do military service.

"Let every one," he said, "who is inclined to devote himself to the cause of God, bind himself by a solemn engagement, and until he sets out, let him bear the cross of the Lord, either on his breast or his brow. When he is ready to begin his march let him place the emblem of salvation on his shoulder, in memory of that precept of the Saviour, 'He that does not take up his cross and follow me, is not worthy of me.'"

Thus ended the Pontiff's oration; and though it can scarcely be doubted that on such an occasion Peter the Hermit was present, I do not find the slightest reason to believe that the pilgrim attempted to address the assembly. It would have been vain indeed for him to do so, for after the magnificent speech of the Roman bishop, no other words were needed to carry forward the chivalry of Europe towards the delivery of Palestine.

The news of what had taken place at Clermont, spread with the utmost rapidity from town to town, and village to village, throughout the whole of Europe. So fast indeed did the tidings travel, that miracles are related regarding the transmission of the intelligence, and superstition worked all her wonders, to give the crusaders the assurance of success.

"Glory and exultation were felt by the Christians," says Robert the Monk, "while grieving and trepidation fell upon the Persians and Arabians." This assertion, however, to the full extent, is not borne out by the fact. The Mahomedans were far from feeling such terror even when the coming of the Christian invaders was fully known to them. A warlike and resolute population, they prepared for the feast of blood like the vultures of their own deserts, and showed no sign of failing resolution, of doubt, fear or trepidation, during the whole of that memorable conflict, the commencement of which was proclaimed at the Council of Clermont.

The wandering races of Asia, filled with zeal and enthusiasm for their own religion, defended their conquests and their faith with courage and devotion; but at the same time no one who considers these events dispassionately, can look upon the enterprise of the first crusade, without admiration for the motives in which it originated, and the valour with which it was carried on. The affected philanthropy and assumed liberality of some modern historians, have led them to represent the crusade as altogether cruel and unnecessary; but so far from such being the case, it is evident that this warfare was not only as just a war as any that was undertaken in those days, but as just as any that ever was waged by man. The objects were to repel a strong, a sanguinary, and successful enemy; to wrest from the hands of the fierce and avowed foes of all Christendom, territories to which they had no claim but that of the sword; to guard a weak and exposed frontier from the incessant attacks of a nation whose boast was conquest; and to give help, comfort, and deliverance to brethren by faith and, in many instances, by kindred, who were lying cruelly enslaved and oppressed, and loudly crying for succour and protection. Such were the various objects which were laid before the Christian world, and such it now rose in arms to attain.

The Council of Clermont itself was scarcely concluded, when the preparations for the great

enterprise began. The Pope himself wrote to almost all the princes of Europe, beseeching them to promote the crusade to the utmost of their power; and after visiting several different towns, and preaching in many places the doctrine of the crusade, he committed the chief command and direction of the whole expedition to Adhemar, Bishop of Buy, in Auvergne, and returned into Italy.

A multitude of princes immediately assumed the cross; and the first of these appears to have been the famous Raymond of St. Giles—generally called the Count of Toulouse, though there seems to have been some doubt, as we have before shown, regarding his claim to that title. Various writers have stated that it was at the instigation of Raymond, and in consequence of his ardent solicitations, in conjunction with those of the Bishop of Cahors, that the Pope, in the first instance, determined upon making a journey into France, and holding the Council of Clermont; but neither does William of Malmesbury, upon whose authority this statement has been founded, entirely bear it out, nor is he himself correct in many parts of his account of the first crusade.* Had Urban

* Several particulars of this very passage are proved to be false. Amongst others, he says that the Bishop of Cahors was dead before the Council of Clermont, and that therefore his friend Urban appointed Adhemar to conduct the crusade. All this is quite erroneous, as, in fact, are most of Malmesbury's speculations in regard to what was passing at a distance. The Bishop of Cahors, who was elected in 1083, was living seventeen years after the Council of Clermont in 1095.

come into France at the request of Raymond of St. Giles, one of his first visits would undoubtedly have been paid to that prince, who had previously distinguished himself against the infidels in Spain, but such was not the case. It is more than probable, indeed that Raymond, as other authors have declared, having learned the Pope's intention of preaching a crusade, from what took place at the Council of Placentia, sent messengers to Clermont to offer his services as leader of the christian hosts against the infidels. Such a proposal on his part was in no degree presumptuous, for he was at this time one of the most renowned knights, as well as one of the most wealthy and powerful princes, in Europe; and though it does not distinctly appear that the supreme pontiff gave him the special direction of the host that was so speedily raised, yet we find that he and the Bishop of Puy, who certainly did possess the papal authority, were joined together in command of one of the large armies which soon after marched towards Jerusalem.* It is scarcely possible to suppose, that either the Pope or the Count of St. Giles had any adequate idea of the extraordinary enthusiasm which would be lighted up by the preaching of the crusade, and it is probable that

* The words of Raymond de Agiles, who accompanied the Bishop and the Prince, are as follows: "Quapropter dimissis aliis, de Comite Sancti Egidii, et Episcopo Podiensi, et exercitu eorum scribere curavimus."

the utmost which was contemplated in the first instance, was to dispatch a considerable force to the assistance of the Christians in Palestine. Europe, however, rose as one man; and I cannot better depict the immediate effects of Urban's preaching, than by giving the words of Guibert the Abbot, who was a witness of all he describes.

“When the Council of Clermont was concluded,” says the historian, “a great rumour spread through the whole of France, and as soon as fame brought the news of the orders of the pontiff to any one, he went instantly to solicit his neighbours and his relations to engage with him in the *way of God*, for so they designated the purposed expedition.

“The Counts Palatine were already full of the desire to undertake this journey; and all the knights of an inferior order felt the same zeal. The poor themselves soon caught the flame so ardently, that no one paused to think of the smallness of his wealth, or to consider whether he ought to yield his house, and his fields, and his vines; but each one set about selling his property, at as low a price as if he had been held in some horrible captivity, and sought to pay his ransom without loss of time.

“At this period, too, there existed a general dearth. The rich even felt the want of corn; and many, with everything to buy, had nothing, or next to nothing, wherewithal to purchase what they needed. The poor tried to nourish themselves with the wild herbs of the earth, and, as bread

was very dear, sought on all sides food heretofore unknown, to supply the place of corn. The wealthy and powerful were not exempt; but finding themselves menaced with the famine which spread around them, and beholding every day the terrible wants of the poor, they contracted their expenses, and lived with the most narrow parsimony, lest they should squander the riches now become so necessary.

“ The ever insatiable misers rejoiced in days so favourable to their covetousness; and casting their eyes upon the bushels of grain which they had hoarded long before, calculated each day the profits of their avarice. Thus some struggled with every misery and want, while others revelled in the hope of fresh acquisitions. No sooner, however, had Christ inspired, as I have said, innumerable bodies of people to seek a voluntary exile, than the money which had been hoarded so long was spread forth in a moment; and that which was horribly dear while all the world was in repose, was on a sudden sold for nothing, as soon as every one began to hasten towards their destined journey. Each man hurried to conclude his affairs, and, astonishing to relate, we then saw—so sudden was the diminution in the value of everything—we then saw seven sheep sold for five deniers. The dearth of grain also was changed into abundance; and every one, occupied solely in amassing money for his journey, sold everything that he could, not according to its

real worth, but according to the value set upon it by the buyer.

“In the meanwhile, the greater part of those who had not determined upon the journey, joked and laughed at those who were thus selling their goods for whatever they could get; and prophesied that their voyage would be miserable, and their return worse. Such was ever the language one day; but the next—suddenly seized with the same desire as the rest—those who had been most forward to mock, abandoned everything for a few crowns, and set out with those whom they had laughed at but a day before. Who shall tell the children and the infirm, that, animated with the same spirit, hastened to the war? Who shall count the old men and the young maids who hurried forward to the fight?—not with the hope of aiding, but for the crown of martyrdom, to be won amidst the swords of the infidels. ‘You warriors,’ they cried, ‘you shall vanquish by the spear and brand, but let us, at least, conquer Christ by our sufferings.’ At the same time, one might see a thousand things springing from the same spirit, which were both astonishing and laughable: the poor shoeing their oxen, as we shoe horses, and harnessing them to two-wheeled carts, in which they placed their scanty provisions and their young children, and proceeding onward, while the babes, at each town or castle that they saw, demanded eagerly whether that was Jerusalem.”

We find in every contemporary narrative, that the motives which led the people of Europe to undertake this expedition were not at all unmingled; that avarice and ambition had their share, as well as piety and self-devotion; and that while some were moved by indignation at the wrongs which their fellow-christians had suffered, and some with holy zeal for the defence of the oppressed, many were actuated by blind superstition, and still more were carried away by the torrent-like force of example. All the different incentives to the crusade form a very curious and interesting subject of investigation to the eye of philosophy, as well as the results of those great movements; and it is by no means uninteresting to compare the effects produced by the preaching of Urban, with the recorded words of the pontiff's speech at the council of Clermont. The comparison will display in the very highest degree, the talent and skill of the Pope; for not one of the human passions to which he addressed various passages of his oration, failed to produce the effect he desired, in hurrying thousands, and tens of thousands, into the Holy Land.

Nevertheless, the mass of the feelings, if I may use such a term, which present themselves amongst the motives for the crusade, were, like the greater part of the inducements held out by Urban, high, chivalrous, and noble. For even setting aside the purer incentives of zeal sympathy and indignation at oppression, the thirst for glory, and the love of

perilous enterprizes were not to be condemned in a chivalrous age.

The spirit of the crusade spread through Europe, as we have said, with unparalleled rapidity; and not only did it so spread, but as is usual with epidemic enthusiasms, it increased in intensity even by diffusion, till it became a passion, nay, a madness. Amongst others upon whom this spirit seized, were many of the most criminal and base of every land. A great number of the most notorious culprits, some moved by penitence, some by avarice, and others by passions which we need not investigate here, were eager to take the cross, and to hasten onwards towards the east. The very fact of such persons engaging in an enterprise of this kind proved an immediate benefit to Europe, not alone by freeing the land of their presence, but by inducing them to devote all their thoughts to the coming expedition, and to suffer the return of peace and tranquillity to countries which had been long groaning under anarchy, confusion, and crime. Hitherto, every feudal castle had been little better than a resort of banditti; the merchant or the traveller was subject to pillage and exaction at each step he took; no security existed for life or property, and the only hope of the weak had been, that cunning might outwit strength. Now, however, a sudden armistice seemed to be proclaimed between man and man throughout Christian Europe. At the Council of Clermont, peace amongst Chris-

tians had been preached as well as war against the infidels ; and the truce of God, which ordained a suspension of all judicial combats during certain days in every week, was extended so as to remain in force from the evening of Wednesday till the morning of Monday. But the ends and purposes of the people in general were changed ; the crusade was præeminent in the eyes of every one ; lands and property in Europe sunk immensely in value, and those things which had been objects of strife and contention in former days, were now become of no esteem.

The wiser, the better, and the nobler personages throughout Christendom, indeed, were in general somewhat more provident than the rest ; and however great might be their zeal in the cause of the suffering Christians of Palestine, or their pious fervour for the deliverance of the Holy City, they did not altogether forget their affairs in Europe, and were detained for a considerable time in making the necessary arrangements for the great enterprise before them. Thus the first body which was ready to set out was composed of all those who had nothing to lose in their own country, of those in whom zeal and fanaticism outwent prudence and religion, and of those who had never displayed either forethought or conduct, except in predatory excursions or acts of lawless daring. Besides this wild host, however, an immense force was in preparation throughout Europe during the winter between 1095 and 1096. The

sign of the cross, which had first been taken by Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, was to be seen everywhere throughout the land; and we are assured that the numbers who thus pledged themselves to the expedition to Palestine, amounted to no less than six millions of souls.

The principal nobles who took the cross at the first preaching of the crusade, were Hugh, brother of Philip King of France, Robert Count of Flanders, Stephen Count of Chartres and Blois, Raymond Count of Toulouse or St. Giles, Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, Bohemond of Tarentum, the famous Tancred his relation, and the renowned Godfrey of Bouillon, with his brother Baldwin, and his near connection Baldwin du Bourg. Of these several warriors I shall have to speak more hereafter in noticing the progress of the expedition.

Although various historians according to their sources of information, have given accounts totally opposed to each other, in regard to which body of crusaders first began its march for the Holy Land, yet there can be but little or no doubt that those who led the way were of the scum of Europe, who, as we have shown, had no inducement whatsoever to pause in their course, and every motive which the prospect of rapine and plunder in untried countries could hold out, to hurry on at once into the east. This multitude, amongst which there reigned many incentives besides the mere expectation of pillage,

and were likewise moved by superstition, devotion, and penitence, was led by a gentleman of Burgundy, who from his poverty, which in all probability had been produced by a licentious life, was named Walter the Pennyless.* He was, however, we are assured, of noble family, and notwithstanding the unmeaning sneer of Mills, was a distinguished warrior;† but he had to do with an unruly herd, who could be restrained by neither experience nor wisdom. The numbers that followed him, as well as most of the particulars regarding his expedition, are very differently stated by the authors of the time. Some would lead us to suppose that his host did not comprise more than twenty thousand men; but others, by the descriptions which they give, imply that it was much more numerous; while all agree that it was entirely composed of foot, with the exception of eight horsemen.

The path of the crusaders was beset with difficulties; for although Hungary had about two centuries before received the Christian faith, yet strange to say, many parts of Europe were still pagan; and even the wilder states which were not so, looked with jealousy and alarm at the entrance of large

* This is written in William of Tyre, *Sensaveir*, usually rendered in modern French, *Sansavoir*.

† Mills strives to represent him as a mere unknown adventurer, saying that his poverty was more remarkable than his military pretensions. But William of Tyre says that he was "*Vir nobilis et in armis strenuus.*"

bodies of armed men within their boundaries. Nevertheless, with a great deal of skill, determination, and judgment, Walter the Penniless led his troops onward through Germany into Hungary. The unfortunate crusaders had made but very scanty provisions for their great and terrible undertaking; and, involved in marshes and in woods, they must have perished to a man of hunger and disease had it not been for the general humanity of the Hungarians, and the kindness of Carloman, the Christian-king of the country. At Semlin indeed they met with an inhospitable reception, and some of them being stripped of their garments, the crosses which they bore were fixed as trophies upon the walls of the city. But Walter, with wise moderation, refused to seek vengeance for the injuries his people had sustained, and led his troops on into Bulgaria. There, however, he was forced to abandon the mild and conciliating measures which he had previously pursued. The gates of the towns were shut against the crusaders; all supplies were refused to them; all traffic was prohibited between the strangers and the suspicious people of the country; and this base and cruel conduct soon produced such a state of famine that the leader of the army had no resource but to take by force of arms those provisions which were refused to gentler solicitation. Walter Sansavoir seems now to have displayed no less firmness and resolution than he had shown moderation at a previous period, and

he forced his way onward through innumerable difficulties, with a degree of skill and courage which well merited the praises bestowed upon him by William of Tyre. He thus, though not without bloodshed and resistance, made his course through Bulgaria, and at length arrived within sight of Constantinople, with an army terribly wasted by war, disease and famine.

The Emperor of the east, who had been amongst the first to call for the support of the western Christians against the aggressions of the Mahomedan hordes, could not well refuse to receive and refresh the advanced guard of the Crusaders; and Walter and his wearied troops obtained permission to remain in the neighbourhood of the Imperial city, and wait the arrival of some fresh body of the many that were following.

Closely treading upon his steps, and carried away by zealous eagerness which did not permit of a delay till the wiser and better leaders were ready to march, came Peter the Hermit himself, with a body of adventurers far more numerous than that which accompanied Walter, but still more incoherent, ungovernable, and licentious. In the swarm that now advanced toward the east, were not only plunderers of all sorts and descriptions, but priests, peasants, women and children; and in avoiding the fault which Walter had committed, this host had run into the opposite extreme, and loaded itself with every kind of incumbrance. All ages and professions were

there, as well as both sexes, and various languages and dialects rendered the camp a moving Babel.

Nevertheless even this dangerous and disjointed machine was led forward, by slow marches, into Hungary; but at Semlin the sight of the crosses which had been pillaged from the army of Walter the Pennyless aroused the furious anger of the multitude; the town was attacked and taken by assault, and every act of horrid barbarity and gross licentiousness, which the unrestrained passions of a lawless and ignorant mob could devise, was perpetrated upon the unhappy inhabitants. The King of Hungary was naturally enraged and indignant at the capture of one of his towns and the slaughter of the citizens, and collecting an army with all speed, he marched to punish the crusading force which was still assembled at Semlin.

No sooner did Peter hear of his approach, than he decamped, for the purpose of evacuating the territories of Hungary, forced the passage of the Morava in spite of the resistance of a Bulgarian tribe, and advancing upon Nissa, to which the Duke of the Bulgarians had retreated from Belgrade, entered into a negociation with that prince, who was wise enough to treat the Hermit and his followers somewhat more hospitably than he had entertained the preceding body of Crusaders.

It is not improbable that fear might have some share in softening his demeanour, for the passage of the Morava had not been effected without con-

siderable slaughter on both sides; and Peter having made a number of the enemy prisoners, had put them to death without remorse. Provisions, it would seem, were amply supplied under the walls of Nissa, and everything passed tranquilly till Peter once more began his march for Constantinople.

A body of German stragglers, having remained behind with the baggage, the women and a small part of the army, chose that inauspicious moment for setting fire to the mills and other buildings in the neighbourhood, in revenge apparently for some offence which had been given them by the Bulgarian merchants, on the preceding night. No sooner was this outrage discovered, than the armed citizens rushed forth, cut to pieces the actual perpetrators of the offence; and, not satisfied with this retribution, they attacked the rear-guard of the crusaders, carried off an immense quantity of baggage, and captured all the women, children, and old people, with the slaughter of many of the most inoffensive persons of the camp.

Peter seems to have shown much moderation on the present occasion; for, turning back, he applied himself to investigate the particulars of the lamentable affair which had occurred, entered into a peaceful negotiation with the Duke, and induced him to restore the baggage and give up the prisoners. Just as this was accomplished, however, another wanton outrage on the part of the Hermit's ungovernable followers, a thousand of whom attempted

to seize upon the town, brought on a general conflict, in which the army of the crusaders was totally routed and dispersed, and Peter himself was obliged to fly alone, into the forests that covered that part of the country. Numbers of his companions were slain, almost all the women were carried away captive, and he wandered on for some time with all his bright hopes destroyed and his heart left desolate. At length, he met with some other crusaders, fugitives like himself, and by accident, he and five distinguished knights assembled on the top of a high mountain. At first their force amounted to no more than five hundred men; but Peter and his comrades now used every stratagem they could devise, in order to call around them any parties of the dispersed host. Horns were sounded, signals were made, and before night no less than seven thousand men were once more collected. With these the Hermit immediately recommenced his march towards Constantinople; and a number of other fragments of his former army joining him by the way, the only farther difficulty was to obtain food, of which the army suffered a great scarcity till it reached the city of Philippopoli.

There, compassion and ample supplies awaited the army; the Emperor Alexius, who had not yet learned to fear the hosts of the crusade, sent deputies to meet the Hermit, and treat him with all kindness; and Peter, whose force was now again swelled to the amount of thirty thousand men,

marched on to Constantinople, and united his troops to those of Walter the Pennyless.

Before his arrival, the latter leader had been joined by a great number of Lombards and Italians, composed almost entirely of the lowest and the most vicious classes of society. These men soon became tired of repose, and insolent from favour and prosperity; innumerable acts of rapine and plunder were committed by them in the neighbourhood of Constantinople; and in the end the Emperor found himself compelled to send them upon fair excuses across the Bosphorus, humanely warning them not to attempt to penetrate into Bithynia, till they were supported by other forces. In Asia, however, their licentiousness broke all bounds: Peter the Hermit, losing all command over them, returned to Constantinople; the Italians and Germans, separating from the French and Normans, who remained under the nominal command of Walter the Pennyless, marched on to a fortress, in which they were attacked by a large force of Mahommedans, after having previously lost a detachment which was cut to pieces in the open country. The fort itself was without water, and the unhappy crusaders endured indescribable torments for eight days, at the end of which time their leaders went over to the infidels, renounced their religion, betrayed their companions, and the Christians who had remained in the fortress were slaughtered to a man.

Shortly after this event, in order, as some writers

suppose, to avenge their brethren, or as others believe, in the false hope of finding Nicea captured by those who went before, the body of French and Norman crusaders, under Walter the Pennyless, marched on in spite of his earnest remonstrances, and were almost immediately afterwards encountered by the Turkish forces. The battle was fierce and long; and from every account, we are led to believe that Walter displayed both great military skill and the most desperate valour. Every advantage, however, was on the side of the Turks; the Christians were scattered in all directions, their leader fell under seven mortal wounds, and only three hundred escaped in a body from that fatal field to the small fortress of Civitot, where they were immediately besieged.

The entreaties of Peter the Hermit induced the Emperor Alexius to send forces to their relief, and they were brought back in safety to Constantinople. The Emperor, we are told, deprived them of their arms in order to prevent the recurrence of excesses such as they had committed previous to their overthrow, and enjoined them to return to their native land, a command which, we have reason to believe, was disobeyed.

Such was the termination of the expeditions conducted by Walter the Pennyless and Peter the Hermit; but a still larger body of rabble, even more disorderly and base than that of which their armies were composed, had yet to march, under a

leader less worthy than his predecessors. This force was gathered together by a German priest, called Gottschalk; and I am inclined to suppose that the whole multitude which now poured forth from the northern and central parts of Germany towards Constantinople, was in fact led by this man; although he himself, at the head of about fifteen thousand of his followers, preceded the great mass. His conduct was cruel and atrocious; and having penetrated into Hungary, he suffered every sort of crime to be committed, till the rage of the Hungarians was roused for the destruction of himself and his companions. The immediate act of barbarity which would seem to have determined the King of Hungary to destroy the barbarous guests who had forced themselves into his dominions, was the impalement of a young Hungarian in the market-place of Mersburg. The pillage of the country had previously taken place with impunity; but this last act induced Carloman to arm the whole population against the intruders, and Gottschalk and his band were surrounded by the Hungarian forces, in the neighbourhood of Belgrade.

The crusaders, however, occupied a strong position; and drawing themselves up in array, threatened to sell their lives dearly. Under these circumstances, Carloman, if we may believe Albert of Aix, had recourse to a stratagem, which was not very honourable. He promised that if the followers of Gottschalk would lay down their arms, he would

spare the innocent, and merely smite the guilty. The ignorant and the brutal companions of the German priest suffered themselves to be deceived, and the troops of Carloman falling upon the unarmed multitude, covered the plains of Belgrade with the bodies of the slain.

In the meantime, immense bands were following the path of Gottschalk from every part of Europe, and a spectacle of vice, crime, and folly, such as was never before, and probably never will again be witnessed in this world, took place upon the banks of the Rhine. We first hear of one of the great troops of this ungodly crowd massacring the Jews in the city of Cologne, and declaring that the primary object of those who undertook the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre should be to destroy the earliest enemies of the Christian faith. The body which had committed this iniquity, marched on towards Mayence, where another band, under the command of a nobleman named Emico, waited for the arrival of their profligate companions. The same spirit animated both, and the slaughter of the Jews immediately commenced in that city. The bishop of Mayence, horrified at the bloodshed which had taken place along the Rhine, gave refuge to the unhappy Jews, in his palace and gardens; but neither his venerable character, nor the means he had taken to exclude the rabble without, were sufficient to deter the cruel men, who were perhaps as much moved by avarice as by fa-

naticism. The palace was attacked, the gates were forced, and seven hundred of the Israelites, men, women and children, were indiscriminately murdered. Other massacres took place in the neighbouring towns, notwithstanding all that the Bishops of Treves and Worms could do, to shelter the unfortunate Hebrews. The Bishop of Spire, indeed, made a successful effort to protect them in his own city; but the Bishops of Treves and Worms proposed to the Jews, as their only chance of safety, that they should embrace the Christian faith. Many acceded to that proposal, but others determined to die rather than abandon their religion.

On this occasion, as in many others, the Jews displayed the spirit of the Romans. I cannot, indeed, as Mills has done, look upon suicide as a virtue under any circumstances, and therefore must not venture to praise the conduct of the Hebrews in mutually slaying each other or casting themselves into the Moselle, though I am compelled to admire their resolute adherence to their faith, when no means of conviction were employed towards them but the sword.

Having accomplished the work of butchery which they had undertaken, and having loaded themselves with the spoil of the wealthy Israelites, the godless multitude marched on their way, preceded by a goat and a goose, to which they offered divine honours, supposing them to be

filled with the Holy Spirit. Blasphemy and murder, however, were not the only crimes which possessed this insane crowd. Vice and debauchery of the most horrible kind, reigned amongst them ; lust, revelry, drunkenness, gluttony, occupied the greater part of their time ; and even children of a tender age, affected by the contagious madness, acquired unnatural capabilities of vice, and participated in the depravities of manhood. Thus, robbing and pillaging as they went, this body also approached the confines of Hungary, in a stream of at least two hundred thousand men ; but at the town of Mersburg* they found the gates of the city shut against them, and the bridge over the Danube guarded by a strong force.

They were now in a situation of great danger and difficulty, being surrounded by marshes, and shut in by the rivers Danube and Lintax ; and, assuming a pacific tone, they sent messengers to demand permission to pass quietly through the country. The request, being refused, they determined at once to attack the city and force a passage. In this attempt, they were at first in some degree successful, having formed, though not without difficulty, a bridge across the Lintax, defeated various parties of Hungarians sent out to oppose

* I need not point out to the reader that this is not the city known by that name in the present day. It probably occupied the site of the town of Altenburg at the junction of the Lactha and the Danube.

them, and even effected two breaches in the walls of the town. Terror and consternation spread amongst the inhabitants, and we are told that the King himself was on the eve of flying with his court into the north, when suddenly a panic, which has never been accounted for, took possession of the besiegers, and they dispersed in every direction. The Hungarians instantly took advantage of this event; and it seems not improbable, from the state of preparation for seizing upon the happy moment, in which the King and his forces were found, that the rout of the Crusaders, which has generally been attributed to a causeless alarm, was in reality produced by a vigorous attack of the adverse troops. Their flight was complete and disastrous; the Hungarians pursued with eager vengeance; the marshes and the rivers flowed with blood; and so terrible was the slaughter, that for some time the waters both of the Lintax and the Danube could not be seen for the bodies of the dead. Very few of the Germans escaped; for of the whole multitude, even when they set out, only three thousand were provided with horses. Some of those who did not fall, turned upon their steps, and regained their native land; while others, passing through the wild and mountainous countries to the westward of Hungary, made their way to Carinthia, and Italy.*

* I have followed the account of Albert of Aix, for the whole of this expedition, both because he was a contemporary, and

That state of society must indeed be dark and lamentable, in which we are compelled to rejoice in the destruction of large masses of our fellow-crea-

because there is reason to believe that he was at this period at Aix-la-Chapelle. Though some persons suppose that the Aix from which he takes his name, was the city of that name in Provence, I by no means imagine such to have been the case. He dwells more than any other author, on the events which disgraced the first movements of the crusade on the banks of the Rhine, and the progress of the rabble through Germany and Hungary. It will be found also, on examining his history, as printed by Bongarsius, that every name which he gives in the language of the day, is spelt in the northern, not in the southern manner. We have the constant use of the K for the C, the preservation of the T Z in the termination of words of German origin, and in fact every indication which could lead us to imagine, that the language familiar to Albert was a Teutonic dialect. He was thus, if the supposition of his residence at Aix-la-Chapelle is correct, both by time and situation the most competent witness that we can find in regard to the proceedings of the first bodies that took their way to the Holy land; and certainly more so than the Archbishop of Tyre, who lived at a much later period. Mills gives a very different account of this whole transaction, citing William of Tyre and Albert of Aix, but differing from them both. Whence he derived his information I cannot tell, but his account is undoubtedly contrary to all the best historians of the time. He says that the crusaders were driven by despair to attack the city of Mersburg, and that they forced the bridge over the Danube; whereas both William of Tyre and Albert of Aix, show, that despair had nothing to do with the matter, and that they themselves built the bridge by which they crossed the river. The words of William of Tyre are "Quâ erecti victoriâ, (the defeat of a small Hungarian force,) adiciunt etiam ut pontibus fabricatis, præsidium expugnent, et iter ferro aperientes, in regnum violenter ingrediantur."

tures; but there are periods when multitudes give themselves so completely up to the influence of the spirit of all evil, that the hand of the destroyer may be marked without much regret in its operation as the only means of removing the great weight of wickedness which oppresses and keeps down all the principles of virtue in society. Thus we feel, in the present instance, that if the Crusades had wrought no other benefit than the extinction of such a mass of crime and vice as that which existed in the wild and ruthless crowds who led the way and perished on the road to the Holy Land, no slight advantage would still have accrued to Europe.

The destruction which took place in the first movements of the Crusade was certainly terrible, and cannot be recorded without a feeling of horror; but many of the evil elements which must have inevitably attended that great enterprise, under any other circumstances, were swept away by the result of these precursory efforts, and it is curious to mark by what easy and natural steps this bloody purification was brought about. Those who were profligate, vicious, and destitute of all the ties which bind men to their country and to the society of which they form a part, were naturally the first to move upon an expedition which offered the hope of plunder and the opportunity of licentiousness. Naturally too, the very objects which they proposed to themselves, and the habits which rendered them a

scourge to their own country, called down upon their heads the indignation of the nations through whose territories they passed, in consequence of the crimes that they committed; and by the same course their improvidence, disorderly character, and want of discipline, made them an easy prey to the vengeance of their enemies.

A different scene soon opened on the world, and at length the chivalry of Europe began to march, or in other words, the real crusade began. The first prince of renown who actually appeared in the field, was Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine; a warrior still in the prime of years and strength, but already famous for his talents as a general and his prowess as a knight. His extraordinary qualities of body and mind, his immense corporeal vigour, his beauty and his grace, his learning and accomplishments, his mild and gentle manners, his resolute firmness, high sense of justice, religious zeal, and extent of views beyond the age, rendered him well qualified for the chief station in so great an enterprise as that in which he now embarked.*

* Robert the Monk says, in speaking of Godfrey, “*Associatur autem cuidam Duci Teutonicorum, nomine Godefrido, qui erat Eustachii Boloniensis comitis filius, sed officio dignitatis Dux erat Teutonicus. Hic vultu elegans, staturâ procerus, dulcis eloquio, moribus egregius, et in tantum lenis, ut magis in se monachum quàm militem figuraret. Hic tamem, cum hostem sentiebat adesse, et imminere prælium, tunc audaci mente concipiebat animum, et quasi leo frendens ad nullius pavebat occursum. Et quæ lorica vel clypeus sustinere posset impetum mucronis illius?*”

The skill of Godfrey in military exercises, was the admiration of all his comrades in arms ; he spoke almost all the languages used in Europe, with perfect facility, and he was highly eloquent in their use. Of the other qualities which we have mentioned, there will be many striking instances recorded ; even in the brief sketch of the first crusade which is all that our limits will admit ; but that which seems to have struck most the fancy of all contemporary writers, was the peculiar gentleness of his manners, which we have too much reason to believe, was a very rare grace in those days. The purity of Godfrey's moral character was also remarkable ; and in the early history of his life, on which we have not time to enlarge, he displayed talents, as well as virtues, which gave the surest bond for his after conduct. During the struggles between the Pope and Henry the Fourth, Emperor of Germany, Godfrey maintained the cause of the Emperor, and by his valour and conduct, secured, if he did not bestow, the crown. He himself, also carried the imperial standard into the walls of Rome, and opened the gates of the city to the troops of Henry. In almost all the troubles which took place during the reign of that vicious prince, he bore a part, either for or against him ; till at length the preaching of the crusade placed a new enterprise before his eyes, an enterprise better suited to his character and to his taste. He was, at the time of the Council of Cler-

mont, suffering from the effects of a fever, which he had caught in the unwholesome neighbourhood of Rome, and which some of the monkish historians of the time represent as a punishment for his opposition to the successor of St. Peter.

No sooner, however, did Godfrey hear the call to arms for the deliverance of Jerusalem, than the fever left him, and arising from the bed of sickness with renewed vigour, he prepared to march at the head of all his followers. The very name of Godfrey of Bouillon was a host. Eustace his brother, Baldwin his half-brother, who possessed many of his military qualities without his chivalrous spirit, his relation Baldwin de Burg, Reinard Count of Tul, and Peter his brother, Garnier de Grais, Dudo de Conti,* Henry de Ascha or de Hache, and Godfrey his brother, all celebrated warriors, each followed by a large body of retainers, had ranged themselves under the banner of the Duke of Lorraine, and were ready to march, together with an immense number of volunteers and the forces of Godfrey himself, by the middle of August.

The progress of Godfrey through the country offered a strange contrast to that of the leaders who had preceded him. All was orderly, sober, and tranquil; the great undertaking before them was in the hearts of all, and, for a considerable time, the holi-

* This is written Cons in Bongarsius, but it is generally supposed that the proper translation is Conti.

ness of the cause in which they were engaged spread a purity through their manners, and a religious restraint over their whole demeanour. Highly disciplined, and perfectly under command, the troops marched on without straying to the right or left, and met with no obstruction till they reached the frontiers of Hungary. On the banks of the rivers, however, which separated that country from the German empire, tidings of the fate of the last band of crusaders reached the ears of Godfrey and his companions, and the unburied corpses of the godless herd which had besieged Mersburg, proved that a terrible slaughter of nominal Christians had taken place.

After holding a council, Godfrey and his chiefs despatched Godfrey de Ascha to the court of Carloman, that nobleman having been previously employed in negotiations with the Hungarian king. He was accompanied by two other distinguished envoys, and bore a plain and dignified message from the great leader of the crusade, purporting that the army waited at Tollenburg for an explanation of the conduct which Carloman had pursued towards his fellow-Christians whose bodies strewed the fields around Mersburg. The ambassadors were directed farther to say, that if the preceding bands had merited the punishment which they had met with, the Duke of Lorraine and his companions would bear it with patience; but that if the King of Hungary had both calumniated

and put to death innocent men, the crusading princes were prepared to avenge the blood of their brethren.

This message was faithfully delivered to the King by Godfrey de Ascha, and Carloman immediately entered into explanations of his conduct. He showed the provocation that he had received, the crimes which the preceding crusaders had committed, and acknowledged and justified the retribution which he had inflicted upon them. At the same time, however, he professed the utmost reverence for Godfrey's character, and his willingness to suffer him to pass tranquilly through his territories ; inviting him to a conference, at which the terms of peace might be fully arranged between them. After a preliminary interview, during which each prince was accompanied by a numerous train, Godfrey determined to trust himself in the hands of the King of Hungary, and entered that monarch's dominions escorted by only twelve of his followers. Long discussions ensued ; for the army of Godfrey was so much more formidable by its numbers, its arms, and its discipline, than any of those that preceded it, that not even the honourable reputation of the leader could calm the fears of the Hungarian nobles, or induce them to suffer the crusading force to enter their territory without giving hostages of a high rank for the conduct of the troops. This demand was so reasonable that Godfrey agreed to it at once ; and a treaty was entered into between him and Carloman, by which it was

stipulated that his army, and all subsequent bodies of crusaders, should be permitted to pass peaceably through Hungary, and should be furnished during their march, on due payment, with all the necessaries of life.

The hostages required by the King of Hungary were the Duke's brother Baldwin, with his wife, and his whole household; but when Godfrey, on his return to the camp, informed Baldwin of what had been demanded, that prince resisted the unpalatable task, and declared that nothing should induce him to place himself in the power of the King of Hungary. The generous nature of the great leader now shone out conspicuous; and he replied, that since such was Baldwin's repugnance to become a hostage, his brother should remain and command the crusading force, while he, Godfrey, would undertake to be the pledge of his followers' good faith and peaceable demeanour, and give himself into the power of Carloman till his troops had effected their march across that monarch's territories.

His brother's noble conduct moved Baldwin more than any persuasions had previously done; he would not suffer the sacrifice proposed to be carried into execution, but yielded himself as a hostage to Carloman, and the army commenced its progress through Hungary. Everything passed in tranquillity; and on the confines of Carloman's dominions, Baldwin and his family being set at li-

berty, Godfrey and the other leaders parted from the Hungarian King, who had accompanied them on their way, with many tokens of regard and esteem.

They now entered Bulgaria, not without alarm, for rumour, which often divulges men's intentions long before they are openly avowed, led the crusaders to believe that the Emperor Alexius had sent a large force to oppose their passage over the Save, and prevent their entrance into his dominions. They crossed the river, however, without difficulty, no hostile force presenting itself, and on the contrary, after advancing some way in Bulgaria, envoys from the Emperor appeared, beseeching Godfrey to restrain his troops from all pillage of the country, and offering in return, a free passage and liberty of trade. Godfrey promised to maintain order, strictly forbade plunder, and advanced tranquilly to Nissa,* where the storehouses of the Emperor were opened for the benefit of the crusaders, and the riches of the country astounded the children of the less fruitful north.

Everything was now joy and contentment, and the military pilgrims marched on in the hope of receiving every assistance from the eastern emperor. At Philippopoli the same hospitable reception awaited them, and they paused for eight days to

* The word has been thus translated, though I find no city exactly so called in that part of the country. The word in the original, however, is spelt "Niezh." Perhaps Nisa is the place intended.

refresh themselves after the fatigues of their journey; but here the treacherous designs of the Greek monarch were first discovered to Godfrey, the news reaching him that Hugh the Great, brother of the King of France, and one of the principal leaders of the crusade, was detained in prison by the emperor, and even loaded with chains.

Ere we notice the farther proceedings of Godfrey, we must pause for a moment to examine the character of Hugh, and to notice the events which had brought him into the situation in which he was now placed.* We are informed by Guibert, that none of the princes who embraced the cross carried with them a higher reputation than Hugh the Great for courage and skill in war, integrity of conduct, honourable moderation, and humility towards the clergy. To the character thus assigned to him, in every point except the last, Hugh of Vermandois gave the lie in the course of the first crusade; showing himself arrogant and presumptuous, timid, unskilful, vacillating, treacherous, and dishonest.

Proud and vain to a very high degree, the very words of his eulogists show that the motives which led him into Palestine were anything but pity for the suffering christians of the east, or zeal for the deliverance of the Holy City. "A number of

* Many of the particulars regarding the march of Hugh of Vermandois are derived from Guibertus, Abbot of Nogent, in the diocese of Laon.

great nobles joined themselves to him," says Guibert, "with the intention of electing him as king, if they could obtain any territory by conquering the infidels;" and no doubt Hugh of Vermandois himself was not unconscious of their intention.

Forming part of the division of the crusading force, which seems to have commenced its march under this prince were the forces of Robert Count of Flanders, a brave and determined soldier, but as far as we can discover, destitute of those chivalrous qualities and personal graces which distinguished almost all the other leaders. Here also appeared Stephen Count of Blois, one of the most wealthy, powerful, and politic princes of the time, who had married the daughter of William the Conqueror, and had acquired a high reputation in Europe by his skill in affairs of state. His renown for courage, indeed, was at no time very high, and diminished lamentably during the course of the crusade. With him appeared in the field his brother-in-law, Robert Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, a gallant and daring knight, a skilful and active general, an eloquent and powerful orator, but a prince eaten up with vices and weaknesses, prodigal to a crime, given to every sensual gratification, rash, imprudent, and vehement; though disinterested, generous, and benevolent. In order to furnish forth the means of joining the crusade with splendour, he at once proposed to mortgage his duchy, which seems to have been the only property that he now pos-

sessed. Of various parts even of this territory, he had been stripped by his brother William, and that monarch gladly seized the opportunity to offer the small sum of ten thousand marks as a loan upon Normandy. Terribly encumbered with debts and embarrassments, Robert gladly embraced the proposal; William Rufus entered into full possession of Normandy, and the duke, raising men both from his own duchy and England, joined himself to the party of Hugh, and set out for the Holy Land. With him were a number of high nobles; and the fame of his courage brought multitudes to his standard,* who seemed to be attached by natural bonds to other leaders of the crusading force. The French gentlemen who took arms with the brother of their sovereign were as numerous, we are assured, as the leaders who once besieged Troy; but the account of their march through Europe is less clear and distinct than that of the

* By some writers it is asserted that Eustace, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, marched with Robert Duke of Normandy, and not with his own relation. Robert the Monk, however, who accompanied the army of the Crusade, after having attended the Council of Clermont, distinctly declares that Eustace accompanied Godfrey, and his authority is certainly better than either that of Henry of Huntingdon, or the Annals of Waverly. Mills makes a wrong citation in regard to the Annals of Waverly, which only state, at the place cited by him, (Gale and Fill. vol. 3, p. 142) that Eustace Count of Boulogne, returned from the Holy Land at the same time that Robert of Normandy did so. In another place, however, the Annals distinctly assert that Eustace did accompany the Duke of Normandy.

progress of any other body of crusaders, and it is very difficult to ascertain whether the forces of all these nobles were ever really united under Hugh of Vermandois,* or whether they left France in separate divisions, directing their course by common consent towards Apulia. It is certain, however, that they all followed nearly the same course, visiting Rome—where their passage was marked by the death of the famous Odo Earl of Kent—and arriving in the end in the neighbourhood of Bari and Otranto. At Lucca Hugh received from the Pope the standard of St. Peter; but both at Rome and in Apulia a multitude of the crusaders abandoned the enterprise and returned to their homes.

On his arrival in Apulia, Hugh of Vermandois

* Some authors declare that they were, and Mills distinctly implies the same thing, though Robert the Monk expressly says, “*Diverso tempore et itinere transalpinaverunt.*” Fulcher of Chartres, who accompanied Stephen Count of Blois to the first crusade, and who must have known whether that prince marched under the orders of, and at the same time with Hugh, asserts that the brother of the French King took his departure before any of the rest, and speaks of his march as if it had been totally separate and distinct from that of the party of Robert of Normandy, Stephen of Blois, and the Count of Flanders. It is clear, indeed, from his statement—whatever agreement had been entered into between the great French feudatories and the brother of their sovereign, regarding the chief command of the army—that Hugh had preceded the three princes above named through France and Italy, and had even embarked from Bari before they arrived.

displayed the arrogance of his disposition by refusing to wait for the multitude of knights and nobles who were hastening forward to accompany him; and determined on embarking at once for the territories of the Greek emperor; with merely the forces he had led to Bari, he sent an arrogant letter to Alexius Comnenus, and dispatched twenty-four knights in golden armour, to require that magnificent preparations should be made for his reception at Durazzo, in his quality of standard-bearer to the Pope.

Although this display of vanity, and the gross error into which it led Hugh—who forgot that the Greeks looked upon the Pope not only as merely bishop of Rome, but as somewhat schismatic and heretical withal—was very consistent with the character of his nation, yet we must recollect that the account is given by an enemy, and moreover by one whose imagination was wonderfully party-spirited, namely, the princess Anna Comnena.

Embarking at Bari, with a small train, which was terribly diminished by a tempest during the voyage, Hugh arrived at Durazzo, in so destitute a condition, that the governor, who it would appear was aware of the apprehensions and views of Alexius, ventured to place the brother of the King of France in a state of honourable captivity, and after detaining him for some time at the port where he landed, sent

him on to Constantinople as a prisoner.* It is more than probable that the after treatment of the French king's brother varied from time to time, with the sudden changes which appeared throughout the whole conduct of Alexius during this part of his reign. The demeanour of the Greek emperor, however, as we have now ample evidence to prove, was not dictated by caprice, but was the result of low cunning and wily policy. Apprehension was the first motive. His empire was weak, and utterly incapable of resisting the efforts or curbing the encroachments of the crusaders, should their

* Anna Comnena, in the *Alexiad*, has very naturally glossed over the conduct of her father in all these treacherous proceedings; and Mills, adopting her account with inconceivable credulity or prejudice, has given a false colouring to the whole transaction between Alexius and Hugh of Vermandois. Every contemporary historian of the crusade, except that princess, distinctly asserts that Hugh of Vermandois was strictly confined as a prisoner—some say in chains—when Godfrey arrived at Philippopoli, and that the Duke sent to demand his instant release, being so indignant at the state in which he was kept, that though renowned for his moderation and humanity, he gave up the territories of Alexius to be ravaged for several days; yet in the face of Albert of Aix, Robert the Monk, Guibert de Nogent, and the honest and straightforward William of Tyre, who as well as Albert, distinctly affirms that Hugh was loaded with chains. The following is the account which Mills gives:—"During his stay Hugh felt not his captivity, for as few of his old companions had reached him, he expressed no desire to depart. But he was soon removed to Constantinople, and Alexius, by flattery and presents, so completely won his affections, that he obtained from him an acknowledgment of fidelity."

indignation be turned against him, or their cupidity excited by the sight of his wealth and the fertility of his dominions. He had thus great cause to fear the entrance of large masses of armed men into his territories; although he himself, by his applications for assistance, when threatened by the bands of the Seljukian Turks, had caused the living inundation to roll in upon the empire. Alexius was one of those who had hitherto succeeded in making the union of fraud and violence assume the appearance and perform some of the functions of vigour. His character is shortly summed up by the Archbishop of Tyre, and his history sketched out in a few true and striking words. "At that time," says William, "the Greek empire was governed by a wicked and cunning man, Alexius by name, and Comnenus by surname, who had been formerly highly honoured in the imperial palace by Nicephorus, commonly called Botoniates, who then held the sceptre. He had exercised the office of *mega-domestici*, which we are accustomed to call 'grand seneschal,' next to the Emperor; but raising himself up basely and wickedly against his lord and benefactor, some five or six years before our people arrived, he took possession of the empire, after having deposed his sovereign, and dared to retain what he violently acquired."

Alexius had applied for aid, neither expecting nor wishing probably more than the assistance of

a few thousand troops ; but when he found that the whole of Europe rose for the deliverance of the Holy Land, and that some millions of people directed their march towards his country, his feelings underwent a change, and he was divided between apprehension for his safety and a hope of making the immense force thus put in motion, a means of recovering for his own benefit those Asiatic territories of which the sword of the infidel had dismembered the eastern empire. In order to effect that purpose, as well as to guard himself against too potent allies, he judged it necessary both to weaken the armies of the crusading princes, and to bind them by engagements which he knew their habits and feelings would not suffer them to violate. With these views he pursued a system of craft, deceit, and irritation, which harassed and diminished the crusading forces, and by which he hoped to induce the various leaders to do homage, and swear to restore to the Greek empire whatever they might recover from the hands of the infidels.

This object he resolved to seek at all risks ; but it is probable that neither the determination, nor the project for carrying it into execution, were formed at once,—that at the time of the arrival of the Hermit and Walter Sans-avoir, the Emperor's views were not entirely decided, and that the accidental appearance of Hugh the Great at Durazzo, in a state approaching destitution, was the event which fixed the resolution of Alexius. Certain it

is, that the Greek emperor had finally arranged his whole plan by the time that Godfrey of Bouillon arrived at Philippopoli ; but a modification of that plan was of course necessary with a leader of the highest renown, at the head of many thousands of the best troops in Europe armed in the most complete manner and under the most perfect discipline.

No opposition was attempted at first, and everything in the conduct of the Emperor seemed smooth, conciliating, and generous, till Godfrey was suddenly astounded by the news that Hugh, his brother crusader, was held in bonds at Constantinople. The Duke displayed as much firmness and determination in dealing with the Greek emperor as he had evinced in negotiating with the King of Hungary ; and the moment these tidings reached him, he despatched envoys to the imperial city, with letters, requiring in courteous terms, that Hugh and his companions in captivity should be immediately set at liberty. His messengers, however, were authorised to demand the liberation of the prisoners in more stern and threatening language, in case of evasion or delay.

Alexius now threw off the mask, positively refusing to restore Hugh to freedom ; and with this unsatisfactory reply, Godfrey's envoys returned to seek him. That great leader, however, had not wasted his time in the pleasures of Philippopoli, but advancing rapidly towards Constantinople, had already passed Adrianople, when his messengers

rejoined the army. They found the Duke encamped in a rich pasture country, with his men maintaining the same exact discipline which had been hitherto observed. But the moment the refusal of the Emperor was made known, Godfrey gave the order to ravage the district. The armed multitude spread in a moment over the neighbouring districts, and for eight days the whole lands around Adrianople were swept of their produce with unsparing rigour.

The news of such summary retribution soon reached Constantinople; and the base Greek, as weak as he was treacherous, sent messengers to beseech the Duke of Lorraine to recal his destroying bands, giving a positive promise for the liberation of the captives. Godfrey, feeling that he had power to compel the execution of this engagement, or to punish its infraction, summoned the troops back to his standard; and, with admirable discipline and obedience, every man returned. Order and peace were reestablished, and in the same calm and regular manner as before, the army of the crusade marched on towards Constantinople, and encamped under the walls of the city. Scarcely had they arrived when the promise of Alexius was fulfilled, and Hugh, with his companions, came forth to meet Godfrey, and return thanks for his deliverance. The raptures of Hugh and the emotion that he displayed upon his liberation, to which all contemporary writers bear witness, prove in a manner not to be refuted, how severe had been his

captivity, and how disgraceful had been the conduct of the Emperor. The brother of the French king was followed closely by messengers from Comnenus, inviting Godfrey to visit him within the walls of Constantinople, leaving his army without; and it would appear that Godfrey expressed no hesitation, till he was warned by some of those who knew the character of Alexius, that the invitation of the Greek Emperor was merely a lure to draw the principal leader of the Crusade into his power. Godfrey ultimately declined to trust himself in such dangerous hands, but he charged some of his most distinguished followers to bear his excuses to the Emperor, and to treat with him in regard to the farther proceedings of the armies of the cross.

Alexius, however, was determined to effect by some means his great object of luring Godfrey to his court, and commanding the gates of the city to be shut against the Franks, he refused them the privilege of trading with his subjects. Unmoved by this conduct, and remembering the effect of the course which he had pursued near Adrianople, Godfrey once more spread his forces over the country, and ravaged the suburbs and the vicinity of the imperial capital. The result was the same as before; Alexius yielded, recalled the prohibition to traffic, and the crusaders returned to order with the same admirable discipline as before.

Peace was thus reëstablished upon Christmas-day, and during the four days that followed, all was

tranquillity, although the season was unpropitious, and the rain descended in torrents. Taking advantage of these circumstances, Alexius sent new messengers to Godfrey, with every profession of regard, begging him to remove his troops from the unhealthy and inconvenient situation in which they were placed, and, crossing the river* which flows into the port, by the great bridge near the palace of Blachernæ, to take up his abode and quarter his army in the beautiful summer dwellings which cover the shores of the Bosphorus. With this proposal Godfrey gladly complied; and doubtless expressed so much gratitude for the suggestion, that Alexius imagined he would now be induced to enter Constantinople and agree to the terms he intended to propose. In this, however, he found himself deceived; Godfrey still avoided making the desired visit, and Alexius then determined to mingle treachery and force in a sudden night-attack, with the

* The river was nearly dry in summer, but at the time when Godfrey's army was there encamped, and indeed usually in the winter, it was a torrent. Mills makes a curious mistake, supposing that Alexius proposed to Godfrey to cross the Bosphorus, and that Godfrey actually did so. He seems also to have imagined that the bridge of the Blachernæ actually crossed the Bosphorus. How this strange confusion of ideas took place, I cannot tell; but it is clear that all Alexius proposed to the Crusaders was to encamp on the higher and more convenient ground, towards the eastward of Constantinople; intending to shut them in between the Euxine, the Bosphorus, and the river Barbises, and there to feed them or starve them, as might seem best to him.

hope, it would seem, of either destroying the crusading army, or of obtaining military possession of the bridge of the Blachernæ, which it is probable he dared not attempt by day. Before the dawn, then, of a morning in the middle of January, he ordered the cantonments of the crusaders to be assailed both by sea and land. A large body of archers were embarked in boats and galleys to attack the host of the cross which was quartered along the shore; and while the attention of the leaders was thus drawn to the side of the Bosphorus, the whole armed population of Constantinople issued forth, and attempted to gain possession of the bridge.

Godfrey, however, was not to be deceived, and seeing instantly the point of the greatest danger, he sent his brother Baldwin, with five hundred men-at-arms, to secure the passage of the river, while he himself prepared to repel the enemy in those quarters where the attack had already commenced. The contest for the bridge was severe; and as soon as Baldwin had occupied it, he found himself assailed, both from the river, where a number of archers had been stationed by the Emperor in boats, and from the side next to the city, from which was still pouring forth all the forces at the command of Alexius. From this exposed situation he hastened to free himself as fast as possible, and passing the bridge, took up a position on the other side, where he held the legions of the Greek monarch in check; while

Godfrey and the other leaders, gathering together their soldiers in haste, made all speed to extricate themselves from the narrow and dangerous ground which Alexius had treacherously induced them to occupy. Troop by troop, and band by band, they passed over the bridge of the Blachernæ, while Baldwin frustrated all the efforts of the enemy to take it; and, as a just retribution for the treason of the Greeks, the crusaders set fire to all the beautiful villas and palaces which then extended along the shores of the Bosphorus, for a distance of six or seven miles.

As soon as the whole army had passed, with its baggage and provisions, Godfrey drawing up his men in battle array, in turn became the assailant; and a sanguinary combat took place, in the course of which an immense number of the soldiers of Alexius were slain, while it would appear that very few of the Latins perished, only one man of any distinction being named even by the Greeks themselves. He, having approached too near the walls of the city, for the purpose of taunting the Greeks with cowardice, was killed by an arrow from the bow of Nicephorus, the husband of the Princess Anna Comnena, who extols this act, but lowers Nicephorus in our opinion, by showing that he sheltered himself within the walls. The subsequent night parted the combatants, or we may better, perhaps, say, saved the Greek army, which retreated into the city. The proof that Godfrey had obtained a complete victory, is to be found in the fact, that on the following morning, he

ventured to detach a great portion of his forces to sweep the neighbouring country of its produce, which was done with an unsparing hand for sixty miles around the capital. For eight days nearly one half of the crusading force was absent upon this service, without Alexius daring to attack the body that remained.

Shortly after these sad events, the Duke of Lorraine received a letter from Boemond of Tarentum, announcing his rapid approach, and exhorting Godfrey, in no very doubtful terms, to retire to Adrianople, or Philippopoli, and make war upon the treacherous Greek. Godfrey, returned a mild and Christian answer; but the news of this intercourse between Boemond and the Duke of Lorraine increased the alarm and anxiety of Alexius. He consequently renewed his solicitations that the latter would visit him in Constantinople; and in order to remove those apprehensions which the whole of his previous conduct might justly create, he offered his son as a hostage for the security of the great leader of the crusade.

Negotiations ensued, the particulars of which cannot be clearly ascertained. It would not be just to reject entirely the authority of the Princess Anna Comnena, but it would be ridiculous to attach much value to the Alexiad as a historical document. It may sometimes indeed throw light upon obscure transactions, though where the assertions are not corroborated by the statements of other writers, that work must be esteemed a piece of very flat

bombast, bearing upon its face such evidence of the most blind and credulous partiality, that very little reliance can be placed in it, even when it is not opposed by other testimony.* The Latin historians of the crusade are generally silent upon all the minute particulars of the negotiations which took place from time to time, and only give us the results.

It would appear, however, that in this instance Hugh of Vermandois was employed by the Emperor to treat with Godfrey, and to induce him to do homage, as well as to give a promise of holding all lands conquered from the infidel, of the imperial crown. This is in every respect a demand worthy of remark, as in the first place it proves that the feudal system in the eleventh century, had reached to the eastern empire as well as to the west, and more or less affected that portion of the Roman dominions which had never submitted to barbarian conquest.† In the second place, an inquiry may arise as to what was the nature and extent of the homage which Alexius required.

* The character of Anna Comnena's work, given by Gibbon, is as follows:—"Instead of the simplicity of style and narrative which wins our belief, an elaborate affectation of rhetoric and science betrays in every page the vanity of a female author. The genuine character of Alexius is lost in a vague constellation of virtues; and the perpetual train of panegyric and apology, awakens our jealousy, to question the veracity of the historian, and the merit of the hero."

† Of the above fact there are many other proofs, but none so conclusive as this demand.

We have seen that the vassals of one prince might do homage to another, for certain purposes, always saving the rights and privileges of the original Lord, and as Godfrey was already a German vassal, that was the only sort of homage that he could yield. It is not indeed probable that he would have performed even this act without some guarantee that Alexius would execute his part in the compact which was always implied by homage; and we find that the Greek Emperor did bind himself to the Duke by one of those ceremonies which in that age were considered more stringent upon men in high station, than any other engagement under which they could come. This was the adoption* of honour, as it is called, one of the most curious customs of remote ages.

* Ces adoptions ont eu lieu long-temps sous les Romains, mais depuis que les nations du Nord se sont répandues dans leur empire, on y en a vu parétre une autre espèce, laquelle n'estoit pas tant une adoption qu' une alliances entre les Princes, qui se communiquoient par là reciproquement les titres de pere et de fils, et par ce moyen contractoient entre eux une liaison de bienveillance beaucoup plus étroite. Ces adoptions n'estoient que par honneur, et ne donnoient aucune part au fils adoptif en la succession de celui qui adoptoit.

Cassiodore est celui qui nous a representé les ceremonies qui s'observoient en ces adoptions honoraires, particulièrement parmi les peuple du Nord: écrivant qui c'estoit une honneur et une faveur considerable chez les nations etrangeres, d'estre adopté par les armes: *Per arma posse fieri filium grande inter gentes constat esse præconium.* Ailleurs, *desiderio quoque concordia factus est per arma filius:* Termes qui justifient ce que j'ay écrit, que ces

As we find the record of no positive agreement between Alexius and Godfrey, and only know that a long negociation took place to determine their conduct towards each other, we may naturally conclude that the two remarkable acts which they performed in their first interview, were stipulated beforehand, and that the return promised for Godfrey's homage, was his adoption by the Emperor. As soon as all was arranged, and John the son of Alexius had been delivered to deputies on the part of Godfrey, the Duke of Lorraine, with a large train of noble followers entered Constantinople, and presented himself at the imperial palace. The crusading princes were dressed in the splendid robes of peace, which distinguished the European chivalry, and from the account of Albert of Aix, the spectacle

adoptions se faisoient pour lier davantage une alliance et une confederation. En un autre endroit: *Gensimundus ille toto orbe cantabilis solum armis filius factus.* Conformement a ces passages, Iornandes parlant de Theodoric adopté par Zenon, *Et post aliquod tempus ad ampliandum honorem ejus in arma sibi eum filium adoptavit.* Le même Cassiodore explique encore disertement cette maniere d'adopter, dont il nous a représenté la formule, nous apprenant qu'elle se faisoit, en revetant celui qui estoit adopté, de toute sorte d'armes, qui lui estoient données par celui qui adoptoit: *Et idèd more gentium, et conditione virili, filium te præsentî munere procreamus, ut competenter per arma nascaris filius, qui bellicosus esse dignosceris. Damus quidem tibi equos, enses, clypeos, et reliqua instrumenta bellorum, sed quæ sunt omnibus fortiora, largimur tibi nostra indicia.*

Les Histoires Byzantines n'ont pas spécifié les cérémonies, dont les Empereurs de Constantinople, de servirent, lorsqu'ils pratiquerent ces adoptions.

of their approach must have appeared magnificent, even to the inhabitants of the most ostentatious city at that time in Europe. All the riches of the court of Alexius, were also displayed for their reception ; and the Emperor himself, though somewhat moved by apprehension, assumed the aspect of solemn dignity, and received the princes of the west without rising from his throne. The kiss of peace was exchanged between him and Godfrey, and after a formal speech, in which Alexius informed the Duke that he had been made acquainted with his high qualities and great renown, the Emperor performed the ceremony of adoption, in return for which, and not till it had been completed, Godfrey gave the Emperor his hand, and declared himself his vassal.*

* Nothing can be more extraordinary than the account given by Mills, of this interview. He says, speaking of Godfrey and the rest, "They were dressed in all the magnificence of warriors of the age. The whole splendour of the Byzantine court was arrayed in order to overawe the strangers. They were received into the imperial palace with dignity, not with respect, as slaves, not as equals. Their salutations were met by Alexius with silence and unrelaxed features; Godfrey bent the knee before the throne, and kissed the knees or the feet of the Emperor. Alexius then adopted him as his son, clothed him with imperial robes, and declared that he put the empire under the protection of his arms." The first part of this account and the second, are not in the least harmonious, and the whole bears its own refutation on the face of it, even were it not contradicted by the best historical evidence. To adopt a man as his son and clothe him with the imperial robes, to beseech his deliverance from an enemy, and

The rejoicing of Alexius at these events was somewhat too extravagant to be very dignified, and showed plainly the fears which he entertained of the crusading force. After Godfrey retired from the palace*, full commercial intercourse was reësta-

put the empire under the protection of his sword, is surely very different from "receiving him with dignity, not with respect, as a slave, not as an equal." Mills, in fact, improves even upon the bombast of Anna Comnena, from whom he takes his account, without admitting the more impartial statements of the Latin historians, who are at least consistent. Albert of Aix tells us, as well as William of Tyre, that to every one of the crusading Princes the Emperor gave the kiss of peace, which was always upon the mouth; and William of Tyre declares, that on their first entrance, they were met with the greatest honours, and each received the imperial salute, which was never given but to persons of the highest distinction. He adds, that the Emperor courted them with the greatest care, speaking to each man by his name.

The value of the Princess Anna's account may be tried by investigating the accuracy of the minute facts which she mentions in those cases where the real circumstances can be ascertained from other sources. Thus she speaks of Baldwin, and makes him perform certain parts, and say certain sayings in the imperial presence; now Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, who is evidently meant, was left in command of the army, while Baldwin de Burgh remained in charge of her brother John.

* I leave out the somewhat romantic episode of Robert of Paris seating himself on the imperial throne, because some of the particulars being false beyond all doubt, I am inclined to view the whole account with considerable suspicions. How much of the story is to be believed, when we know that one of the principal actors therein was not and could not be present, the reader may judge.

blished between the crusaders and the Greeks. The son of the Emperor was restored to his father with honour, and every week, from the middle of January nearly till the day of Pentecost, Alexius sent forth as much gold coin as two strong men could carry on their shoulders, and ten bushels of copper, as a present to the leader of the Franks. The most perfect discipline was now maintained by the crusaders, and for several weeks abundance and peace reigned in the camp.

Having now obtained his object, the conduct of Alexius suffered no farther variations in his separate dealings with Godfrey; but in the course of the month of March, tidings reached Constantinople, of the rapid approach of other bands, and the monarch began to desire the absence of the northern armies, that he might deal more easily with the fresh multitudes which were now approaching. He suggested therefore to Godfrey, that it would be expedient for the first division to cross the Bosphorus, lest even the abundance of the Byzantine capital might be exhausted by the presence of such hosts. Godfrey acquiesced, and transported his troops in safety to the opposite shore of Bithynia, where he encamped in the neighbourhood of Chalcedon, within sight of the imperial city. Scarcely was he gone, when the troops of Boemond, Prince of Tarentum, appeared, consisting of ten thousand mounted men-at-arms, and an immense body of foot. He was accompanied also by another leader

not less famous than himself as a warrior, and far more celebrated for all those high and endearing qualities which distinguished knighthood in its brightest days. Of Boemond we have already spoken, and it is unnecessary here to dwell any farther upon his previous history; but of Tancred, whose name has been immortalised by the verse of Tasso, a few words may be permitted.

He was, it would appear, the son of Odo the Marquis, or the Good, a Sicilian nobleman, who married Emma, the sister of the famous Robert Guiscard. He was thus the first cousin of Boemond; and although his biographer affords us little information of his early years, there is reason to believe that he had acquired high renown by various feats of arms long before the publication of the crusade. The account given of his youth by Radulphus is a mere picture of all the military virtues of the time, and must be passed over as a panegyric rather than as a history. It aids, however, to confirm the impression given by Tasso, and to show that Tancred really was the most chivalrous of all the crusading leaders. In these respects his character was strongly opposed to that of his cousin Boemond, who though brave, skilful, and resolute, was cunning, grasping, ambitious, avaricious and remorseless. Nevertheless, Tancred willingly served with his whole forces under the banner of Boemond, and voluntarily placed himself second to a man inferior to himself in all the highest and brightest qualities of our nature.

We are assured by almost all contemporary writers, that Boemond did not assume the cross till after the arrival of Hugh of Vermandois in the southern parts of Italy. He was, it would appear, engaged in the siege of Amalfi, when the various bodies of crusaders, which took their way through France and Italy, began to arrive in Apulia, and the Prince of Tarentum sent messengers to demand what were the objects, and who the leaders of the immense army which was now approaching his dominions. On hearing that it was one division of the crusading force commanded by the brother of the King of France, he is said to have immediately embraced the same enterprise, causing his mantle to be cut into crosses* and distributed amongst his soldiery. Although this statement rests upon the very best authority, we can hardly believe that Boemond was either generally ignorant of what was proceeding in the rest of Europe, or unaware of the march of Hugh of Vermandois. We know that he was privy to the first design of the crusade, long before the preaching of Urban at Clermont; and as he was brother-in-law to the King of France and Hugh of Vermandois, it is barely possible that the movements of the latter

* By some we are told that he dashed his armour to pieces with his battle-axe, and caused it to be forged into crosses of iron; but I find no good authority for this statement, which would seem to imply that the armour of Boemond was of the kind called plate, though we know that such was not the case.

should never be known to so near a connection till he arrived in Apulia. It is far more probable indeed that the Prince of Tarentum hesitated long, before he actually embarked in the great enterprise of the day, both because he did not feel certain that the result would satisfy his ambition and avarice, and because he doubted whether he should be able either to force his way through the dominions of the Greek emperor, the ancient enemy of his race, or obtain a peaceable passage for his troops. When he found, however, that his cousin Tancred was willing to accompany him, and that a large part of the army of his brother Roger, was also ready to embrace the crusade, he delayed no longer, but devoted a short time to preparation, and in the end of the year 1096, or early in the spring of 1097, commenced his march for the Holy Land.*

The two princes Boemond and Tancred directed their course by Epirus, and marched rapidly on

* The time of Boemond's departure is uncertain. Some writers have asserted that he sailed from the shores of Apulia towards the end of November; but it is not possible to believe that this was the case, as Boemond certainly did not leave Apulia for some time after Hugh of Vermandois, who arrived at Bari in the commencement of the winter; and we also find, that though the army of the Italian Normans marched on almost without pause towards Constantinople, they did not arrive till nearly the end of March; leaving a space of time which it is impossible they could have occupied between their arrival and their departure, if we are to suppose that the latter took place in the end of November.

towards Constantinople, though not without difficulty and danger. The troops of the Greek emperor hovered about the crusading forces, harassing them by every means; and at length in crossing the Axius at a difficult spot, a general attack was made upon the army of Boemond, while the forces of Tancred were on the other side of the river, having advanced to dislodge a body of the enemy which occupied the opposite bank. The gallant Prince of Otranto, however, having effected his purpose, recrossed the stream to the aid of his cousin, and by a desperate charge put the Greeks to flight, and routed them completely. The victory being thus obtained, the army passed the ford in safety, and marched on towards Constantinople, where the progress of this new body of crusaders had already spread apprehension.

On the road, however, Boemond was met by messengers from Alexius, bearing letters filled with soft and honied words, the most opposite to his feelings and to his actions; and as soon as the Prince of Tarentum had arrived in the vicinity of Constantinople, Godfrey of Bouillon was engaged by the Greek emperor, to visit the camp of the great Norman leader and persuade him to perform homage. But Boemond, whose experience was not favourable to the honesty of the monarch, refused for some time to trust himself within the gates of the capital.

Of all the princes of Christendom, however, Boe-

mond was the best known to the Greek emperor ; and a negociation was immediately entered into for the purchase of his homage. Alexius being well aware that there was no principle in the bosom of the Prince of Tarentum, at all equal to struggle with that avarice which was one of his distinguishing characteristics, immense sums of gold were promised to him, and, as the price of his homage, a district in Romania was offered, the extent of which is said to have been such, that a horse took fifteen days to traverse its whole length, and eight to cross the breadth thereof. This was a means of a persuasion which could not be without effect upon the mind of Boemond; and, leaving his army under the command of his cousin, he hastened on to Constantinople, where his homage was performed without difficulty.

As soon as the news of his cousin's submission to the demands of the emperor reached Tancred, that prince determined to save himself from being urged to undergo a similar indignity, and seizing a favourable opportunity, he embarked from the European shore of the Hellespont, with his own forces and those of Boemond,* and succeeded in joining the army of Godfrey of Bouillon, much

* Some say that Tancred went alone, but I do not find that this is borne out by the best authorities. Mills, as usual, cites the authors who contradict him: Albert of Aix distinctly states that he took the troops with him, which is completely confirmed by William of Tyre.

to the surprise and vexation both of Alexius and Boemond. The chief of Otranto was not to be brought back again by the threats of the one or the remonstrances of the other, and Alexius soon found it necessary to dissemble his anger ; for fresh bodies of crusaders were now rapidly approaching, and it became necessary to play off those whom he had gained, against those whose homage was yet to be obtained.

The next army which reached Constantinople, was that commanded by Robert Count of Flanders. If he had not accompanied Hugh of Vermandois into Apulia, he had followed close upon his steps, together with Robert of Normandy, and Stephen Count of Blois. Winter was coming on, however, ships were difficult to be procured, the fate of Hugh, who had encountered a tempest in his passage, as well as treachery on his arrival, alarmed several of the crusading chiefs, and Robert of Normandy, as well as Stephen of Blois, took up his quarters for the winter in Calabria, many of the inferior classes quitting their standard, and returning, in disgust, to their own country.

In the meantime, the Count of Flanders, having long ruled a maritime people, and fearing less the wintry seas than his two companions, embarked, with his whole force, in what vessels he could find at Bari. He landed safely at Durazzo, and passed the rest of an inclement season in a fertile country, refreshing his troops, and preparing for his onward

journey. After thus halting for several weeks, he recommenced his march in the beginning of spring, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the imperial city while Boemond was still in Constantinople.* On

* It is very curious and amusing to find how historical facts can be differently viewed by different persons. My account of the arrival of the Count of Flanders is taken from various contemporary and nearly contemporary authors; and from William of Tyre, universally admitted to be both accurate and impartial in regard to all the crusades which preceded his own time; from Fulcher of Chartres, who accompanied the division to which Robert belonged; and from Albert of Aix, the most careful and accurate historian of his day. Mills, however, in direct opposition of all these authorities, places the arrival of Robert of Flanders before that of Boemond, declares that Robert was attacked and defeated by the Grecian fleet, and that he and his followers were brought prisoners to Constantinople. The words of William of Tyre are, "In the meantime, Robert, the illustrious Count of Flanders, who in the beginning of winter crossing the sea with his forces, from Bari, a maritime city of Apulia, had disembarked at Durazzo, avoided the bad season in a fertile district, covered with woods and pastures, and every sort of accommodation. At length, however, towards the beginning of spring, resuming his journey, he made haste to join the other princes who had previously crossed the sea." This follows immediately after the account of Boemond's arrival. Albert of Aix, after speaking of the whole transaction between Boemond and the Emperor, says, "Brevi dehinc intervallo, affuit Robertus Flandrensis cum immensis copiis: qui et ipse audita concordia Ducis et Boemundi cum imperatore, fœdus iniit, homo illius factus." It seems to me that with the direct authority which we have for the time of the arrival of the Count of Flanders and his whole proceedings, we cannot admit these statements of Mr. Mills.

the way, he was met by envoys from the Emperor, who invited him to enter the town with a small troop, and do homage, as the other crusading princes had done. The Count of Flanders had no hesitation upon such a subject; but with an undignified facility which greatly pleased Alexius, he followed his directions in every thing, presented himself at the palace, did homage, took whatever the Emperor would give him, and set an example of docility, which was not destined to be followed.

The arrival of the Count of Flanders was closely followed by that of the immense force led from the south of France by the Bishop of Puy and the Count of St. Giles, or of Toulouse.* Their journey had been long, difficult, and dangerous. They had been attacked and harrassed both by the troops and enemies of the Emperor; but the good prelate who accompanied them, and the great leader by whom they were commanded, had sustained their courage and spirits, and guided them with skill and resolution. As usual, messengers from Alexius met the Count of Toulouse, and with words of friendship and gratulation invited him to the palace at Constantinople. They added the earnest entreaty of Godfrey, Boemond, and the Count of

* I have already noticed the claims of Raymond of St. Giles to the county of Toulouse, and the difficulties that surround the question of his rights. I shall therefore follow the practice of others who have written upon these wars, and call him indifferently Count of St. Giles and Count of Toulouse.

Flanders, that he would immediately come to the imperial city, and hold council with the rest of the princes, in order to persuade the monarch of the east to put himself at the head of the united Christian force, and to march at once to Jerusalem. The Count yielded to this request, and set off immediately with a small suite, leaving his army to follow; but the perfidious Emperor demanded the homage of Raymond the moment he presented himself, even while his forces attacked unaware the army which that prince had quitted without a doubt of its security. The task of inducing the proud and mighty Count of St. Giles to do homage as the rest had done, was more difficult than had been anticipated, and he replied to the proposal by the impressive words, "I have not come hither to recognise, or fight for, any other Lord than Him, for whom I have renounced my lands and my country." He offered, however, if Alexius would put himself at the head of the crusade and march to Jerusalem as its leader, to take that limited oath of fidelity which would place the Emperor's person, followers, and dominions, under the safeguard of his good faith.

The Byzantine monarch still pressed the Count to do simple homage; but in the midst of the negotiations, the army of Raymond approached Constantinople, and he heard for the first time of the base and treacherous attack which had been made upon his camp by the Greek forces.

Rage and indignation now seized upon the Count

of St. Giles ; he instantly took the resolution of revenging the wrong that he had suffered by force of arms, and called upon the other princes, whose entreaties had induced him to hurry forward to Constantinople, for aid and assistance in his just warfare. They, on their part, though indignant like himself, used their utmost exertions to pacify him ; and Alexius was forced to make some concessions, though Boemond was base enough to promise that he would support the Emperor, if the Count of St. Giles attacked him. In these circumstances it would have been madness in Raymond to pursue the suggestions of his wrath ; and, after some time passed in conferences and negotiations—in the course of which Alexius frequently played off Boemond and Raymond against each other—the Count of St. Giles took an oath that he would neither attempt the honour nor the life of Alexius, and transported his diminished and harrassed troops across the Hellespont.

Not long after Raymond appeared, the armies of Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois, which seem to have passed through the dominions of the Greek emperor with less annoyance and difficulty than any other body of crusaders ; at least Fulcher, who accompanied the Count of Blois, makes no mention of any attack. The only obstacle to their progress was the passage of the rivers, swollen by the rains of spring, in effecting which many perished. Nor, in some instances, would

the infantry have been able to cross at all, had not the men-at-arms, on their heavy horses, ranged themselves above, and broken the force of the stream. The moment the two princes arrived at Constantinople, the Emperor proposed to them the oath of homage, as he had done to their predecessors. A short consultation was sufficient to induce them to yield to this demand, for the preceding bodies of crusaders had already marched on from Chalcedon, and were at that time actually forming the siege of the city of Nicea.

BOOK VII.

BEFORE the last body of crusaders, under Stephen of Blois and Robert of Normandy, had reached Constantinople and submitted to the will of Alexius, Godfrey of Bouillon, who had found the supply of provisions necessary for his forces, deficient on many occasions, even while his own camp stood alone under the walls of Chalcedon, determined to lead on his army towards Nicea, lest the presence of such immense multitudes as were daily arriving should produce a real, instead of a fictitious scarcity. He had already applied frequently, though in vain, to Alexius for assistance, which had been largely promised and rigidly withheld; but it would appear that the Greek Emperor, as soon as he was informed that the troops of Godfrey intended to march forward, did all that was possible for him to facilitate their advance, and to deliver himself from the presence of such troublesome allies. Godfrey,

on his part, was willing to abandon all claims upon Alexius, rather than risk, by unseemly strife between Christian princes, the success of the crusade itself; and taking the mildest expedient that suggested itself, he marched onward to Nicea. Tancred, it would seem, accompanied him, as well as Robert of Flanders and the Bishop of Puy; but several of the other princes lingered behind, and Boemond remained to superintend the transmission of provisions which Alexius engaged to supply for the nourishment of the army of the cross under the walls of Nicea.

The Greek Emperor, with the same detestable deceit which had characterised all his proceedings, wilfully neglected to fulfil his engagements; no provisions were prepared or sent for so great a length of time, that the price of a loaf of bread in the Christian camp, rose to twenty or thirty deniers, then an immense sum. The threats and entreaties of Boemond, however, in the end, obtained the necessary supplies, and immediately setting forth from Constantinople, he carried abundance with him to the famishing host of the crusaders. None of the great leaders now remained behind, except Raymond of St. Giles,* (who lingered for some weeks in Constantinople, and then halted for a time at Nicomedia,) and the siege was instantly commenced in his absence, one por-

* Raymond de Agiles says, that Robert of Normandy was the last who came up.

tion of the plain around Nicea being left open for his troops.

It is scarcely possible to give any exact account of the disposal of the crusading force round the city; for even the eye-witnesses differ from each other regarding the positions of the several armies. It may be enough therefore to say that it was attacked on three sides, the fourth being defended by the Ascanian lake, which bathed its mighty walls and towers, and prevented the approach of the hostile troops.

The enterprise now before the crusaders formed a worthy commencement for their efforts; Nicea was already famed in the history of the Christian world; it was strongly fortified, inhabited by a fierce and a warlike race, and as the capital of the Seljukian kingdom of Roum, was the great outpost of infidel aggression. Soliman,* the Sultan of the Seljukian Turks, one of the bravest and most skilful sovereigns of his day, had quitted the city at the first news of the crusaders approach, and had employed a

* I do not find this prince called by the name of Soliman in the Arabian historians, who name him continually Kilig Arslan, or the Lion. He was the son of Soliman, a cousin of Malek Shah; and I cannot but think from the general manner in which all the Latin historians call him Soliman, that he must also have borne the same name. I have therefore continued to give it him rather than that assigned to him by the Arabians, as he is best known by it in the history of the crusades. William of Tyre, however, certainly confounds him with his father.

considerable time in rousing the warlike tribes under his sway, in order to repel with vigour and determination the efforts of the enemies of his faith. His people responded to his call, and an immense army of well armed and highly disciplined cavalry was soon ready to act under his orders, and attack the host of the cross under the walls of Nicea. On both sides the military movements with which the crusade commenced, approached the marvellous. The strength of Nicea, its peculiar position, the number of its inhabitants, the multitude of warlike and conquering tribes by which it was supported, all rendered the siege of that place one of great difficulty and danger. But the attack of Soliman upon the crusading forces must seem an act of still greater daring, when we consider of what materials the Christian army was now composed. When all the various bodies which had commenced their march under celebrated Christian leaders were assembled on the plains of Nicea, even after the first combat with Soliman, the number of fighting men amounted to no less than six hundred thousand, besides an immense train of women, children and priests. Of the soldiers we find that one hundred thousand were knights,* and the great cor-

* I translate without fear the term *Loricati* applied to these men, knights, upon the authority of Ducange, who expressly states that it may be always so rendered. Besides these the cavalry comprised men-at-arms, of which no estimate has been given. On this subject Mills makes the following extraordinary

poreal strength, activity, and skill of the European chivalry rendered such an army probably the most

observation, which seems perfectly unaccountable, as the very author he cites, in the very passage he quotes from, contradicts the statement that he makes, and shews that there was a large force of other cavalry besides the Equites Loricati, which he mentions. The words of Mills, are, "Guibert, p. 491, mentions 100,000 equites loricati. These words must mean, in the instance before us, the general force of the crusading cavalry; and we are prevented from adding to it the men-at-arms, because the Archbishop of Tyre, in another place (p. 693), says, that the horses with which the crusaders commenced the siege of Antioch numbered only 70,000." The words of Guibert, are, "quos in equestri loricorum galeatorumque decore, hii qui exercituum quantitates pensitare didicerant, centum circiter millia putavère. Porro pedestris populositatem turbæ, et illorum numerum qui assectabantur equestribus, posse ab aliquo supputari non æstimo penitùs." Now those "qui assectabantur equestribus," were evidently and beyond all doubt, the ordinary men-at-arms and squires who attended the knights, as the preceding and all the subsequent words of Guibert show, and these were always mounted men. As to what Mr. Mills says in regard to the numbers of horsemen at the siege of Antioch, to calculate from such data is worse than ridiculous. He might as well estimate the forces with which Napoleon marched to Moscow, by the numbers of the same army after the flight from Russia. Did he forget altogether the battle of Dorylæum, where more horses were slain than men, and the terrible march through Phrygia, where the destruction was immense? Or the passage through Mount Taurus, where the horses could be scarcely led at all, and the soldiers were obliged to carry their baggage on their own backs, or to load it upon pigs and dogs, because so many of the horses had perished? Between Nicea and Antioch, the crusaders themselves were reduced, by death and by detachments, to one half their number; and it is very certain that more of the cattle died than of the men.

formidable that ever was collected in the world. We may suppose, however, that Soliman expected to find, in this immense body, soldiers not much more worthy of the name than the undisciplined multitudes of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Pennyless, or at the worst, adversaries as feeble as the often-defeated Greeks; and having discovered in the beginning of June, that several bodies of crusaders had not yet come up, and that the earlier attempts of the enemy upon Nicea had been fruitless, he determined at once to attack the Christian army, and force his way into the city.

In the first place, however, he sent down messengers, directed to effect an entrance secretly into his capital from the side of the lake, and warn the inhabitants of his intention. He commanded them to notify to the garrison the period at which he would make the attempt, and to bid them sally forth and cooperate in the defeat of the Christians; but the envoys of the Turkish Sultan were discovered before they could reach the place, and while one was killed on the spot, the other was carried a prisoner to the presence of Geoffrey and the crusading princes. Terror soon compelled the captive to disclose the secret purpose of his master, and Godfrey immediately sent couriers to seek Raymond of St. Giles at Nicomedia and inform him of the dangers of farther delay. The Count paused not a moment after receiving this intelligence, but marching on with all speed at the head of his

troops, arrived at Nicea before daybreak, on the Sunday after Ascension day, and occupied the space which had been left vacant for him before the southern gate of the city.

Soliman, it would appear, was neither aware of the arrival of the Count of St. Giles, nor the capture of his own messengers; and descending from the mountains round about at the hour appointed, he caused a body of ten thousand horse to advance as rapidly as possible towards the gate on the south side of Nicea and endeavour to force its way in, while he attacked the Christian army in another quarter, expecting the citizens to sally forth and aid him in his efforts. The Sultan was destined to be disappointed in his expectations, however; the troops of the Count of St. Giles, though wearied with a long march, effectually closed the way to the southern gate, and driving back the squadrons of Seljukian horsemen, became, in turn, the assailants. The garrison of the city never having received the intimation which had been sent to them, did not comprehend the purposes of their sovereign, and remained within the walls of Nicea; while Godfrey and his companions met the chief attack of the Turkish forces headed by Soliman himself, with courage and activity. Repulsed and disappointed the Sultan led his troops back to the mountains, with the determination of renewing his efforts on the following day. The inhabitants of Nicea then seemed to comprehend his movements, and sallied

forth as soon as they saw the battle renewed on the subsequent morning ; but success still attended the arms of the crusaders, and the Mussulmans, repelled at all points, suffered a complete defeat.*

The town, however, still remained unsubdued; and although wood was brought from the neighbouring forests, and all sorts of military engines for battering or sapping the walls were constructed on the spot, not one of the three hundred and fifty towers of Nicea was even shaken during many weeks. The crusaders seem at one time almost to have despaired of capturing the beleaguered city; but abundance reigned in their camp after the defeat of Soliman; for Alexius now took care to supply their wants—in gratitude, it would appear, for the barbarous present of a thousand Turkish heads, which were sent to him after the defeat of the Sultan.

Such bloody trophies also were cast by the catapults and mangonels into the streets of the town, with the view of alarming the garrison; but so long as the towers continued to stand, the walls remained uninjured, and the Turkish boats which covered the Ascanian lake brought in supplies of every kind, the people of Nicea had little cause for apprehension.

* Several historians of the crusade only mention one attack, and declare that after the first day Soliman never approached the Christian army again. Guibert, however, positively states, that they returned the day after.

The siege was prolonged for many weeks; but it is impossible to relate in this work all the incidents by which it was distinguished, and all the means that were resorted to by Raymond, Godfrey, and others, to undermine the walls, or throw down one of the towers. Some writers declare that the free intercourse carried on between the inhabitants and the Turks without the walls, by means of the lake, was known from the first to the crusaders; but there seems more probability in that account which states that the Mahommedans carefully concealed the way by which they obtained supplies, and that the boats passed and repassed only during the night.

The facts, however, at length became apparent to Godfrey and his companions, and they instantly perceived the necessity of rendering the blockade more complete. For this purpose, large boats, some of which would contain a hundred men, were brought from Constantinople to the neighbouring port of Civitot; three or four waggons were joined together in order to transport them across a neck of dry land, and thus a Christian flotilla, manned with Greek soldiers, soon covered the lake Ascanius, and cut off Nicea from all communication with the adjacent country.

About the same time, or a little before, a gentleman from Lombardy, which district was even then famous for the skill of its natives in engineering, constructed a machine of the kind called the Sow,

in so strong a manner, and of so well devised a form, that when pushed forward to the foot of one of the towers, the fire cast down upon it from above had no effect, and the masses of stone which were showered upon its pointed roof rolled off innocuous. Under the shelter which it afforded a part of the tower was undermined; piles of wood were substituted for the masonry which was carried away; immense quantities of combustibles filled up the aperture; and at night the Lombard and his companions withdrew, setting fire to the materials thus accumulated. The piles, after burning slowly for some time, gave way at length under the weight above, and before morning the tower itself fell, with a roar which awakened the whole crusading army.

With a breach thus left in the walls of the city, and with the means of supply which had formerly been open, now cut off, terror and dismay spread amongst the people of Nicea. The wife and sons of the Sultan, who had hitherto remained in the capital, being taken in an attempt to escape, were brought before Godfrey, and the garrison began to treat for a surrender. But in the meantime, the envoys of the Greek emperor obtained admission into the city, negotiated a separate treaty with the people of Nicea, induced them to yield to Alexius rather than to those who had really achieved the conquest; and, when the crusaders were about to renew the attack, they found the banners of the

empire floating over the walls of the place.* We are told by William of Tyre, that though this pitiful act called forth the scorn of the crusading princes, they did not oppose it, as their views led them forward to other conquests, and they had stipulated to restore to Alexius such towns as had formerly belonged to the empire.

The use, however, which the perfidious Greek made of the stratagem that had been practised, did excite, to a very high pitch, the anger of Godfrey and his companions; for it had been distinctly agreed that everything taken by the forces of the cross, except the mere towns and territories, should become the property of the crusaders, as some indemnification for their immense expenses and labours. But Alexius seized upon everything in Nicea, and though he sent magnificent presents to the Latin camp, what he gave was utterly disproportioned to that which he obtained; nor would

* In regard to all these events, it will be seen that this account is different from that of Mills. He quotes William of Tyre as one of his chief authorities in regard to the particulars of the fall of Nicea; but we look in vain in that author for a confirmation of his statements. The wall of the tower is never said to have been repaired by a new series of fortifications after it had been thrown down by the Lombard; and so far from the prelate stating that the Greek envoy offered to give up the wife of Soliman on condition of the place surrendering to the emperor, William of Tyre declares that she was taken by the Latin princes, and that they only sent her as a prisoner to Alexius after the fall of Nicea was completely effected.

he permit the military pilgrims to enter the city except by ten at a time. Although, as the Bishop of Tyre declares, it would have been easy for the great leaders of the crusade to redress their own wrongs, and expel the Greeks from Nicea, yet, with wise and prudent moderation, the Christian princes submitted to the loss, inflicted on them, and persuaded the common soldiery to remain passive also.*

Never was a more remarkable instance given of

* The view which has been taken of this act of Alexius by the writer, on whose account I have had occasion more than once to animadvert, is founded entirely on false grounds. He says, "Humanity rejoices that his selfishness (that of Alexius) preserved the city from becoming a scene of blood and rapine." Now the stipulations between Alexius and the crusaders, which the selfishness of the former now violated, did not at all imply, according to William of Tyre, whom Mills cites, that the towns were to be given up to the fury of the crusading soldiery; but merely, that the legitimate booty which belonged to a successful army was to be theirs, and not the Greeks'. What that legitimate booty was in those days, was then very clearly defined. The terms of a capitulation, also, always stated distinctly what portion of the wealth of a captured place was given up to the victor; and as we find from every account that the Niceans had announced their intention to surrender, and were negotiating with Godfrey when the envoys of Alexius stepped in and obtained the town for their master, we cannot doubt that such a convention would have been entered into, as would have saved Nicea from the horrors of an assault. Indeed we find that the only stipulation made by the inhabitants was that their lives should be spared, and thus the wealth of the city became, in fact, the property of Alexius, by a gross and unpalliated fraud.

the effect of discipline and subordination ; for every account shows us, that the lower orders of the crusaders felt in a poignant degree the base and treacherous conduct of the Greeks. But, indeed, the Christian camp, since the commencement of the siege of Nicea, had presented a picture of order, virtue, morality, and piety, such as has been rarely if ever exhibited by any large body of men since the world began. We are not permitted to doubt, from the concurrent testimony of all contemporary writers, that during the whole of that siege instances of vice or crime were utterly unknown. Perfect simplicity and purity of manners existed, and every supply that was brought into the camp was considered as the common property of all. The inferior duties and labors of the soldiery were shared by the leaders, and everything showed that the first grand impression of the vast and solemn enterprise which all had undertaken, had as yet worn away from the minds of none.

This state, strange to say, continued during success, and gave way before want, pestilence, and reverses. But even previous to the siege of Nicea, the germ of many misfortunes had been sown in the Christian camp. Doubt, dissatisfaction, jealousy one of another, had risen up under the fostering care of Alexius ; and enthusiasm, that great spring of human action, which lifts us, as with wings, above thousands of difficulties, and seems to change the very circumstances in which we are

placed, was well nigh broken under the weight of petty intrigues, schemes of personal aggrandisement, long and irritating discussions, narrow views, and base motives. Alexius however contrived to add more of such ingredients before he suffered the crusading host to march on towards Jerusalem. The Emperor had excused himself under various vain and frivolous pretences from taking an active part in the great business of the crusade and leading the armies of christian Europe to war against the Asiatic infidels. He had, nevertheless, crossed the Bosphorus; and, for the purpose of watching the progress of the great leaders, and taking advantage of their success for his own selfish ends, had advanced as far as Pelicanum. To that place he now invited the crusading princes, under the pretence of holding a conference with them in regard to the prosecution of the war; but as soon as they appeared, the subject of homage and fealty was renewed, and those who had not taken the oath were now urged eagerly to do so. Tancred, it would seem, remained inflexible, and replied to the proposal in terms so haughty as to call forth an insulting answer from one of the attendants of Alexius. The prince of Otranto, however, was not of a character to bear injurious words unmoved, and we find that he would have slain the offender in the imperial presence, had he not been prevented by the bystanders. He then openly defied the Em-

peror, and quitting the court returned as fast as possible to the crusading camp.

On the third day of July, 1097, the vast forces of the crusaders again marched forward, having, during the siege of Nicea, suffered some loss, but having also received various accessions from the junction of a large body of Pisans and other Italians, from the arrival of Peter the Hermit with the remains of his scattered bands, and from the liberation of a great number of prisoners who had been previously taken by Soliman in his combat with Walter the Pennyless. This movement was made just nine days after the fall of Nicea; but ere that period had arrived, Soliman had once more collected a large army, and hovered round the forces of the cross, watching their movements as they proceeded. It has even been supposed that Alexius himself kept up a communication with the Turks, and sent back the wife and children of Soliman, to create a bond between himself and his former enemies, with a view of directing their attacks against the too powerful allies, of whose presence in the east he was so jealous.* Certain it is, that had his forces

* “Solimani uxor cum duobus filiis de quibus prædiximus, et captivorum ingenti multitudinæ Constantinopolim translata est: ubi ab imperatore non solum clementer, verum et liberaliter nimis tractati, infra paucos dies libertati pristinæ sunt restituti. Id autem eâ fecisse dicitur intentione, ut et Turcorum sibi reconciliaret gratiam, et in nostram propensiores suis beneficiis excitaret injuriam.” So says the Bishop of Tyre.

been united to those of the crusaders, or had he aided them by that knowledge of the country and its resources which the Greeks possessed and the Latins did not, one-half of the misfortunes which attended the crusade would have been obviated, and the dominions the eastern empire had lost might have been so completely reconquered as to place a formidable barrier against any renewed efforts of the infidels.

At the end of the first day's journey from Nicea, the crusaders encamped on the banks of a fine river, and waited for the daylight of the following morning to cross the bridge which lay before them. Somewhat before the dawn on the thirtieth of June, the army recommenced its march; but, as it would appear, by accident,* a separation took place, which led to very disastrous consequences. Boemond, Tancred, Robert of Normandy, Stephen Count of

* Some doubt exists as to the fact of the separation having been accidental. Mills says that it took place by mutual consent; Fulcher of Chartres who was present, and Guibert who was not present, but who had the best information of everything that occurred, declare precisely that the separation was accidental and by a mistake in the road. Oderic Vital follows the same opinion; Raymond de Agiles says that Boemond separated from the other princes imprudently; and Radulphus, who was with Tancred, though he alludes to a rumour of the separation having been concerted, in order not to exhaust the country of provisions, shows that such could not have been the case, as the baggage of the Norman and Italian troops had been left with the other division, in consequence of the error that separated them.

Blois, and Hugh Count of St. Paul, with several other princes, followed a road to the left; while Godfrey, Hugh of Vermandois, Raymond of St. Giles, the Bishop of Puy, and the Count of Flanders, with by far the larger division of the army, pursued the beaten way to the right. This separation did not escape the keen eyes of the Seljukian sultan; and, although the two paths which the different crusading princes had taken ran at no great distance from each other, he instantly determined to attack the smaller division. For that purpose he followed the army of Boemond step by step, watching all his proceedings from the heights of the neighbouring mountains. The objects of his keen attention, however, marched on in tranquillity; warned from time to time, by the appearance of small bodies of Turks, that a hostile force was not far off, but probably ignorant that the levies of Soliman had placed him at the head of so formidable an army. It would appear that Boemond was well aware, however, that he could not be far distant from the main body of the crusade. The country into which they had entered was rich in water and in pasture, and amidst the delicious freshness of the valley of Gorgon, the Norman crusaders pitched their tents. The night passed over without attack. Early on the following morning, the march was recommenced, and ere they had proceeded many miles, the immense forces of Soliman were seen descending from the neighbouring hills. The num-

bers which the Turkish sultan had collected have been differently estimated; but the two eye-witnesses, Robert the Monk and Fulcher of Chartres, declare that the attacking army amounted to between three and four hundred thousand Turks.* Besides these, it would appear that there were a number of wandering Arabs; and the whole of this immense force consisted entirely of cavalry.

Though thus tremendously outnumbered, Boemond and his companions did not lose their presence of mind; the ground was not altogether unfavourable to the Christians; messengers were immediately sent off across the hills to warn Godfrey and the rest of the crusading princes of the peril which menaced their brethren; the old men, the women, and the sick, were removed to the most secure point of the position, where a piece of marshy ground offered protection on one side; around this defenceless crowd the baggage and the waggons which contained it were formed into a rampart; and at some little distance in advance Boemond drew up his army to oppose the Turkish cavalry, mingling horse and foot together. The infidels came on at rapid pace, with shouts and cries and the clangour of drums and trumpets; and the

* Raymond de Agiles reduces the number to a hundred and fifty thousand, but Raymond was not present, having accompanied the other body of the army. William of Tyre estimates at two hundred thousand the forces of Soliman, and elsewhere calls them innumerable.

crusaders prepared to resist them as they would have resisted other Frankish combatants; but while yet afar each Turkish horseman raised a bow of horn above his head, a thick cloud seemed to darken the sky, and in a moment a dense shower of arrows dropped amongst the ranks of the Christians. Many of the pilgrims who filled up the ranks of Boemond were but half armed; and of the chargers which bore the men-at-arms a great number were unprotected by defensive armour, so that thousands of men and horses were instantly stretched upon the plain, either slain or wounded by the Turkish arrows. A second flight followed the first, with barely a moment's interval; and such great confusion ensued, that, it would appear, it was with difficulty that the leaders rallied their troops.

Tancred, however, Robert of Paris, and William, brother of the prince of Otranto, displaying the same daring courage which always distinguished the knights of old, led forward their men to attack the Turkish myriads; but the infidels, according to their own particular mode of warfare, at first scattered on every side before the charge of the crusaders, discharging, like the Parthians of old, their fatal shafts as they fled. William of Otranto was slain by an arrow, Robert of Paris was likewise killed early in the day, a multitude of inferior soldiers fell, and Tancred himself was nearly made a prisoner. Gradually, as more and more bands rushed down from the hills, the Turks pressed forward upon

every side; the bow was used no longer, the scimitar and the sword drank the blood of the adversary; and, hemmed in by the overpowering multitude that swept round him, Boemond saw his troops stricken down like corn before the arm of the reaper. He himself, however, made the most gallant and skilful efforts, both as a soldier and a general, still presenting a firm front to the enemy, and never breaking his ranks or quitting his post till he saw the banner of Otranto go down, and judged by that sign of the peril of his chivalrous cousin. By a determined charge at that moment he saved Tancred, and dragged him from amidst the enemy; but about the same time a large body of Turkish horse, which Soliman seems to have detached on purpose in the early part of the day, crossed the river and traversing the marshy ground, which partly concealed their approach by the tall reeds that covered it, forced their way into the enclosure, where the women, the children, and the infirm, had been placed for security. The infidels spared neither age nor sex, and a terrible slaughter had commenced, when Boemond, perceiving what had occurred, left the command of the principal body of the army to Robert of Normandy, and with a small band, hurried to meet the Turks who had penetrated into his camp. This movement was mistaken by many for flight, and the troops under Robert had fallen into confusion and were beginning to retreat, when the Duke of Normandy,

seizing the standard from the hands of him who bore it, cast off his helmet, that all might see his face, and shouting loudly, "Deus id vult! Deus id vult!—God wills it! God wills it!" plunged his horse into the midst of the enemies' ranks, drove back the infidels, and restored order to the defence. Still the band of Soliman pressed round upon every side, and though Boemond had by this time cleared the camp of the foe, a number of his soldiers were necessarily engaged in its defence.

The women, however, for whose protection this band was assigned, now proved of infinite service to the whole host. Exhausted with combating through a day of July in the heat of a Phrygian climate, parched with thirst, and weakened by wounds, the strength of the crusaders must have given way, had not their wives and sisters supplied them constantly with water from the little stream that ran near. They were thus enabled to maintain the battle for several hours, but were still in a state nearly hopeless, when at length a cloud of dust rising from behind the hills to the west, announced that some new combatants were hastening to the scene of contest. Then appeared spears and pennons, and the glittering arms of the Latin chivalry; and, with the red cross banner of the crusade floating over their heads, down came Godfrey of Bouillon and Hugh of Vermandois, followed by Raymond of St. Giles and the warlike Bishop of Puy. Rage, disappointment, and apprehension,

spread through the host of Soliman, while relief and hope and renewed courage rose in the bosoms of the exhausted crusaders.

But if the sight of Godfrey and his companions was full of joy and satisfaction to Boemond, his situation offered an awful and terrible object to the eyes of the two princes who first came spurring over the hills above. There lay the little camp of the Norman leaders, surrounded on every side by the charging squadrons of the Turks; and the fury of the combat which was there going on told them a terrible tale of what their brethren in arms must have endured. Godfrey formed his army as he came up, and with forty thousand picked horsemen bore down upon the troops of Soliman. "God wills it! God wills it!" was again shouted all over the hills, and the prospects of the day were changed; but Soliman still persisted in maintaining the combat, though with terrible loss; till at length the sight of the Bishop of Puy and Raymond of St. Giles spread a complete panic through the Mussulman ranks. The flight became general, and as the Christians pursued with angry speed, the slaughter was terrible. Godfrey and his comrades ceased not to follow the fugitives for several hours, and thus they suddenly came upon the Turkish camp, sheltered in the bosom of the heighbouring hills. Here a vast booty in gold, silver, camels and other beasts of burthen, fell to the share of the crusaders; and here also were found several Christian prisoners who had been taken in the early part of the day.

The actual loss in killed had not been near so great on the part of Boemond as might have been expected. The best computation gives about four thousand slain, but an immense number of Christian warriors were severely wounded. The slaughter of the Turks was very much greater; the army of Soliman was scattered to the winds, and the progress of the crusade was now marked by the capture of a strong city and a complete and signal victory, which received the name of the battle of Doryleum.

For several days the people of the cross remained encamped in the neighbourhood of the spot where this triumph had been obtained. Repose and refreshment certainly was necessary to them; but with a degree of improvidence which marked their whole course, they consumed, without care or thrift, the greater part of their own provisions and of the stores which they had found in the enemy's camp, and then set out to pass through the midst of Phrygia, with but scanty food and no supply of water. Soliman had been more provident, however, in his enmity towards the invaders. His scattered bands, no longer able to keep the field, had been spread over the whole country, with an order to destroy everything that could afford support to the crusading host. All was thus made desolate throughout that fiery region; and the sufferings which the Christians underwent in their onward march, were ten times more destructive than the swords of the adversary. Men and horses fell by thousands in

the way; and the women who thronged the crusading camp, dying by the agonising death of thirst, forgot decency and modesty, and even the ties of nature, rolled prostrate on the ground, offered their bosoms to the sword, and cast down their new-born children, to perish miserably on the road.

No language can do justice to the misery there endured; and when at last water was discovered, the intemperate use of the blessed element was nearly as fatal as the drought had been before. The country now changed its aspect; Phrygia was passed, and in Pisidia towards Antiochetta, green fields and rivulets, and shady trees, offered to the weary host of the crusade a comparative paradise. Here the army paused for a considerable time, enjoying the sweets of the place, and recovering from the fatigues of the way; but Raymond Count of St. Giles was soon seized with a dangerous illness, probably brought on by the fatigues he had undergone; and Godfrey himself, while hunting in the neighbouring forests, was nearly killed in combat with a wild beast.

Some of the warriors, however, soon became tired of the repose of Antiochetta; Tancred, with the Prince of Salernum, five hundred horse, and a proportionate force of foot, determined upon detaching himself from the rest of the leaders, in order to explore the country round, and see what advantages he could gain over the enemy. Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, joined himself to Tancred with a

somewhat larger force, but after wandering for a time through a country which had been desolated by the Turks, the two princes again separated.

Tancred taking his way through Cilicia, made himself master of Tarsus, which was garrisoned by a small body of Turks ; but Baldwin, who had not been so fortunate, soon after returned, and demanded the cession of the captured city from Tancred, alleging that as he commanded the superior force he was entitled to look upon himself as leader of the whole expedition. Tancred laughed at such a vain pretence but Baldwin ceased not to intrigue with the inhabitants, till he had obtained possession of Tarsus ; and Tancred, rather than draw his sword against a brother crusader, yielded the point, and marching onward attacked and took Mamistra by storm. Baldwin then with increased forces, ravaged the whole of Cilicia, and approached Mamistra, with the evident intention of obtaining that also. Tancred's indignation now got the better of all other feelings, and issuing forth from the walls of the city, he gave battle to his treacherous ally in the open country ; but from the inferiority of his numbers, he was soon forced to retire into Mamistra. The next day a reconciliation was effected, and Baldwin proceeded to rejoin the main army, while Tancred remained carrying on a desultory warfare against the Turks, whose garrisons were scattered thinly through all the neighbouring districts.

Ere Baldwin reached the host of the crusade,

Godfrey had marched on, though still suffering from the wounds he had received. The Count of Toulouse was by this time restored to health, but Baldwin found that his own wife had quitted Antiochetta in extreme ill health, and she died about the period of the army's arrival at Marasia, or Marasch. It is probable that the fatigues of the journey greatly accelerated the progress of the sickness under which she laboured, for though of a different kind, the sufferings of the march from Antiochetta to Marasch were scarcely inferior to those which the crusaders had undergone in Phrygia.

The language in which Robert the Monk describes their passage through Mount Taurus, is both picturesque and terrific. "They travelled," he says, "with deplorable suffering, through mountains where no road was to be found, except the paths of reptiles and savage beasts, and where the passes afforded no more space than just sufficient to place one foot before the other, in tracks shut in between rocks and thorny bushes. The depths of the precipices seemed to sink down to the centre of the earth, while the summits of the mountains appeared to rise up to the firmament. The knights and men-at-arms walked forward with uncertain steps, the armour being slung over their shoulders, and each of them acting as a foot-soldier, for none dared mount his horse. Many would willingly have sold their helmets, their breast-plates, or their shields, had they found any one to buy; and some wearied out, cast down their arms,

to walk more lightly. No loaded horses could pass, none could stop or sit down, none could aid his companion, except where the one behind was sometimes able to help the person before him, though those that preceded could hardly turn their heads, towards those who followed. Nevertheless, having traversed these horrible paths, or rather those pathless deserts, they arrived at length at the city of Marasia, where the inhabitants received them with honour and with joy."

Tidings of the conduct of Baldwin at Tarsus and Mamistra had reached the camp of the crusaders before that leader's return, and when at length he joined them at Marasch, his reception was cold and gloomy. His daring courage, military skill, and political talent, might have rendered him one of the ornaments of the expedition, had not his selfish ambition directed all the powers and energies of his mind to the sole object of his personal aggrandisement. The stern and chilling looks, and perhaps the reproachful words of his fellow soldiers rendered their society more distasteful to him after his return than it was before, though he seems to have been attached to the enterprise by no very strong bonds at any time; and contriving to seduce two hundred knights and a large body of foot soldiers, he abandoned his brethren of the crusade, and with the adventurous spirit of the age, set out to seek the path of fortune, and conquer on his own account. He was accompanied and perhaps seduced

by Pancrates, an Armenian, who represented to Baldwin in glowing colours the advantages to be gained in his native country on the other side of the Euphrates. It must be recollected that the greater part of the population of those districts was still Christian, the Mahommedans not having enforced the law of conversion throughout the whole of the territories they had conquered, but remaining as foreign lords and masters amongst the people they had subdued. In many places the Turkish garrisons were small and inefficient, and the towns of Turbessel and Ravendal soon fell into the hands of Baldwin. A greater fate, however, was yet before him, for while still engaged in subduing the country in the neighbourhood of those towns, messengers arrived from the prince of Edessa, the capital of Mesopotamia, inviting him to that city, and holding out to him the prospect of ultimately obtaining the government.

Baldwin gladly caught at the opportunity; but before he went, he paused to perform one of those acts which most darkly stain his memory. He had confided the towns of Turbessel and Ravendal to the care of his companion Pancrates, and had even, it would appear, given that personage, in some degree, feudal possession of the conquered territory. Having some cause, however, to doubt his faith, he now forced him to deliver up the cities, by imprisonment in chains, the most horrible tortures, and a threat of causing him to be torn limb from

limb. He then proceeded on his way towards Edessa, and some transactions took place of a very dark and doubtful character. The conduct of Baldwin in the whole of these transactions, is anything but free from suspicion ; but it is unnecessary here to investigate how far that leader was guilty of inducing the people to rise against Thoros, the Prince of Edessa, and force him to adopt the Frank for his son. Certain it is that insurrectionary movements took place, and that, after some resistance, Thoros, according to the custom of the day, passed his own shirt over Baldwin's shoulders, pressed him to his naked bosom, and publicly declared him to be his child and heir.*

Not long after, a new tumult occurred in the city. Baldwin, whose power to tranquillise it cannot be doubted, did not use his influence for that purpose, and the weak and aged sovereign of Edessa was slain by the insurgents. That Baldwin actually instigated the revolt, or contemplated the murder of Thoros, is not proved ; but that he was greatly culpable in suffering such events to take place, there can be no doubt, and the fact of his having profited by the assassination of Thoros may seem to fix upon him a suspicion of having shared in the actual guilt. The brother of Godfrey was immediately raised to supreme sway in Edessa, and he now found no difficulty in repressing the factions of the city, and reducing the neighbouring territory to subjection.

* Guibert declares that the same unpleasant ceremony was performed by the wife of Thoros also.

Innumerable struggles with various enemies succeeded, and occupied the time and energies of Baldwin for many years. In the midst of these we shall now leave him, to speak of the progress of the host of the cross, which advanced from Marasch towards Antioch with great care and caution.

Tancred, who though always eager to distinguish himself in separate expeditions, never displayed in the slightest degree the pettiness of selfish ambition, was detached from the main army, and proceeding along the coast, made himself master of the whole sea-country as far as Alexandretta in the gulf of Ajasse. Robert of Flanders also advanced to attack Artesia, which was garrisoned by a small Mussulman force, and at first made some show of resistance. The Armenian inhabitants of the city, however, threw open the gates to their Christian brethren, and the unfortunate Mahommedans were massacred without pity.

The conquests of the crusaders now extended very nearly to the thirty-sixth degree of latitude, and they had obtained possession of various points upon a parallel line with Antioch itself. Cilicia lay behind them, with many of its towns recovered from the infidel, Mesopotamia was on their left, with Edessa as a strong post, occupied by a powerful body of Christian soldiery under the command of an active, daring, and a skilful leader, and with Artesia or Chalcis, in the hands of the Count of Flanders, lying between Antioch and the Euphrates. The

most skilful generalship could not have placed them in more favourable circumstances for pursuing their march upon Antioch and Jerusalem; but these great advantages would seem to have been obtained more frequently by accident than by design, and the political state of the country which they invaded afforded at the moment the crusade took place facilities for such an enterprise which it never presented at any previous or perhaps any subsequent period.

Indeed it always happens, that at the appointed moment when, by the will of God, any great and important movement affecting large masses of his intelligent creatures, is to take place, innumerable events apparently totally unconnected with each other, or only united at the great source of all power and wisdom, cooperate in a manner marvellous in our eyes, to facilitate the execution of His fiat, by natural and ordinary causes. Fifty years sooner, or fifty years later, numerous and immense obstacles would have barred the path of the Christian forces, would have prevented them from ever reaching Jerusalem, and would have deprived Europe of all those results that may be naturally traced to the long and intimate intercourse with the East, which was brought about by the success of the first crusade.

At this period in the history of that great enterprise, the Arabian historians first come generally to the elucidation of the subject. Before the entrance of the Frankish army into Syria, its progress seems to have excited but little attention in the great

body of Mahommedan princes; and Soliman was left to fight his own battles with very little assistance; but the cause of this apathy was the general disunion which reigned amongst the descendants of the great conquerors of the east. The vast territories which had once been united in the original Khalifat, and had afterwards been divided between the Khalifs of Egypt and Bagdad, were now broken into innumerable portions, under princes who generally acknowledged some sort of subjection to one or other of those two great heads, but acted independently of them, and set their authority at defiance.

The Khalif of Bagdad, indeed, was reduced merely to a sort of spiritual chief, and the real authority formerly possessed by the Abbasides had passed into the hand of the Turks, a wandering race of Tartars, who had invaded Persia, and adopted the religion which they there found established. They had indeed generally treated the Khalif with decency; and the famous Togrul Beg, while he received the supreme power as lieutenant of the Khalif, maintained the impotent Cayem in possession of Bagdad. Togrul's son, Alp Arslan, or Alp the Lion, while he subdued the countries around him, suffered the shadow of the Khalif to exist in peace. To him succeeded the famous Malek Shah, whose reign was ushered in by a fierce contest with his near relations. The empire of the Khalif itself was not equal to the ambition and the genius of

Malek, and his arms had approached the very gates of Constantinople. But while this great monarch was in the act of extending his dominions, and evidently entertained the design of consolidating his power and transferring the seat of government to Bagdad, he committed a great error in policy, and encouraged the establishment of inferior princes and governors. His territories were divided after his death; and that portion which remained to the eldest branch, as the Persian empire, though it maintained some nominal sway over the great provinces of Kerman, Syria, and Roum, had very little real hold upon those countries, and soon fell into a state of languor and decay.

The famous Kerboga, Emir of Moussoul, had rendered himself almost independent of the Persian monarch at the time that the crusades began, and a number of other emirs of Mesopotamia also resisted the yoke of the Sultan in acts, if not in words. Syria was divided amongst innumerable petty princes, descended in general from Malek Shah, or Alp Arslan. Aleppo and Damascus had each its separate sovereign; and the strong and important town of Antioch, with the territory adjacent, was governed by a prince named Baguisian, or Baghasian, who seems, by the accounts of the Arabs themselves, to have acted the part of a fierce and odious tyrant. The Khalif of Egypt, shut up in his harem, ruled alone by his ministers; but more fortunate than the descendants of the house of

Abbas, he had not only retained his African dominions, but was in possession of Tyre, Sidon, Ascalon, Jerusalem, and a great part of Palestine and Phœnicia. The officers, however, commanding in those countries, paid but little respect to the authority of the Khalif, and disorganization, confusion, and strife, existed from the confines of Syria to the very frontiers of Arabia.

Such was the state of the country when the crusading army quitted Marasch on its march for Antioch; and actual warfare was going on amongst the Mahomedan inhabitants of the land, a number of the Syrian princes, having united to attack the Emir of Emessa, who seems to have rendered himself generally obnoxious. But while they were carrying on their operations against that chief, the news suddenly reached their camp, that an immense army of Franks, estimated by Kemaleddin at three hundred and twenty thousand men, had entered the Syrian territory, and was marching rapidly upon Antioch. Baguisian, the prince of that city, who was one of the confederates against the Emir of Emessa, instantly retreated for the purpose of defending his own dominions, and the rest separated in order to provide against the danger which evidently menaced them all alike. Tidings of the progress and numbers of the Christian army, intelligence that a fleet from the unknown regions of the west, had attacked and pillaged Laodicea, and various other warnings, plainly showed Baguisian

that it was no common attack which he was now called upon to repel; and in consequence, while he prepared Antioch for resistance, he dispatched his two sons at the head of some cavalry to seek for aid, directing one to Damascus, and the other to the court or camp of Kerboga, Emir of Moussoul.

Such were the proceedings that took place on the part of the Mahommedans, and we must now turn to notice particularly the advance of the crusading army, the main body of which continued its course towards Antioch without meeting with any interruption till it approached the walls of that city. The force which had been thrown out to the left of the line of march, however, was not destined to remain unmolested, although the capture of Artesia afforded a strong place of refuge, and the proximity of the main body promised speedy support in case of need. The Latin writers give but a confused account of the encounter that took place between Robert of Flanders and a large corps of the enemy, which advanced to attack him after the capture of Artesia; but the Arabs supply the defect, and from their accounts we have reason to believe that an error has been committed in asserting that Baguisian and his troops issued forth from Antioch in order to deprive the Count of his new acquired territories.

Two combats are mentioned by Kemaleddin as having taken place between the Franks and the Mussulmans on this occasion. In the first of these,

which seems to have been between a part of the troops of Robert of Flanders, and the son of Bagnisian, detached by his father, as we have before said, for the purpose of obtaining reinforcements, the small body of Christians which was opposed to the infidels, was totally defeated, and a great number of the crusaders were slain.

The other son of the Emir of Antioch was less fortunate, for in comparing the tale of the Christian writers, especially Albert of Aix, with that of the Arabian authors, we find that the Mussulman leader having obtained assistance from the Emir of Aleppo, and various other chiefs, succeeded in entrapping Robert of Flanders, with a force of a thousand knights, into an ambuscade. He then fell upon the count and his companions with twenty thousand horsemen, but notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy's numbers, Robert and his knights contrived to cut their way through, and at length, being joined by some reinforcements, they turned upon the attacking squadrons, totally defeated them, and drove them back to the very walls of Aleppo.

The arrival of Tancred, who was sweeping the country between Alexandretta and Artesia, soon after freed the Count of Flanders from the danger of any further attack; and on the approach of the great army, all the leaders, with the exception of Baldwin, having reunited their forces, marched on, and soon entered the territory of Antioch.*

* It has been stated by a very respectable author, that Tan-

The Turkish population of Syria and the neighbouring countries, was now fully roused to a sense of the disasters which threatened the Mahomedan religion; and the march of various armies, as well as the massacre of several bodies of Syrian and Armenian Christians, warned the crusaders that a more strenuous opposition than they had yet met with, was about to be offered to their farther progress. The dangers which had beset Robert of Flanders and some smaller parties of the Christian force, induced the leaders, as they approached Antioch, to publish an order, forbidding any band to absent itself from the main body of the army, which soon after came in sight of the Orontes, near its junction with the Uphrenus.

cred arrived upon the field while Robert of Flanders was engaged with the troops of Baguisian, and that the coming of the Prince of Otranto delivered the count from the consequences of his imprudence; but neither the best Latin nor Arabian statements confirm this tale, and it is very evident that Robert of Flanders did not receive the aid of the Italian prince till after he had réentered the walls of Artesia. The sincere account of Kemaleddin merely states that the son of Baguisian, returning with reinforcements towards Antioch, encountered a body of Christians, which though inferior in number, put him to flight, and pursued him to the gates of Aleppo. It does not appear from the narrative of Arabs that Baguisian either led or sent any body of troops against the crusaders; but it would seem, on the contrary, that he remained in Antioch, making vigorous preparations for the defence of that city. In a former work upon the Crusades I followed the account of the Latin historians in regard to the presence of the Antiochian prince with his troops on this occasion; but a further study of the Arabian authors has convinced me that I was in error.

The situation of Antioch, and the strength of its fortifications, struck the crusaders with wonder and admiration, and the picturesque account given of it by Raymond de Agiles, enables us to comprehend the feelings with which the chivalrous pilgrims beheld it. "Amongst the mountains of Libanus," he says, "there is a certain plain, the breadth of which takes the traveller a day to cross, and the length a day and a half. This plain is bounded on the west by a marsh, and on the east by a river, which sweeping round a part, runs towards the mountains situated to the southern side, so that there is no passage between the stream and the mountains, and thus it flows into the Mediterranean sea, which is near to Antioch. In the straits which the stream makes in running under the mountains Antioch is situated, so that to the west there is left not more than an arrows's flight of ground between the lower wall and the river. The town thus situated rises to the east, and in the circuit of its walls encloses the peaks of three mountains. That mountain, indeed, which it has to the north, is separated from the others by a great precipice, so that between it and them there is no means or very difficult means of communication. On the top of the northern mountain is a castle, and on the middle mountain * ano-

* See Raymond de Agiles Bongarsius, p. 143. M. Guizot translates this passage differently, but I think there can be little doubt that he is mistaken. Raymond says, "In colle septentrionali castellum quoddam est, *et in medio collis* castellum aliud

ther castle, which in the Greek language is called Colax. On the third peak are some towers. The town is two miles in length, and so fortified with walls and towers and outworks, that it fears no force of machines, and no assault of man, even if the whole human race should come against it. The Frankish army now besieged the town thus fortified from the northern side, but although amounting to three hundred thousand armed men, it attempted no assault, but merely encamped close to the city. There were in the town two thousand chosen men-at-arms, four or five thousand troopers,* and ten thousand or more foot. The walls, too, were so high, and so well defended by ditches and marshes, that if the gates were well guarded all the rest were secure."

In one particular the above account of Raymond is not quite accurate: for though the space between the mountains and the river was certainly narrow, and the rocks in many places advanced within a very small distance of the stream, yet there was ample room for passage, and the Roman road itself ran on that side of the Orontes.

quod lingua Græca colax vocatur. In tertio colle tantum tures. M. Guizot translates *in medio collis*, "sur le milieu de la meme montagne." Raymond was evidently describing the circumstances of the three peaks which he mentions; and though he used a loose and wrong expression, he clearly meant by *in medio collis* on the middle mountain, rather than on the middle of the mountain. At all events the words "*la meme*" are wrongly introduced.

* I have translated the words *militum gregariorum* troopers.

The city itself communicated with the adjacent country by two bridges, one crossing the Orontes close to Antioch, and one spanning the marsh which guarded it on the other side. But besides these, there were another, about six miles above the town, consisting of nine stone arches, and defended by towers and doors plated with iron. In order to attack the city it was absolutely necessary that the crusaders should cross the river by one of the two bridges which traversed it; for although there were several fords, the baggage of the army could not be carried through them. The iron bridge, as it was called, lying farthest from the town, was the one over which the leaders of the crusade determined to force their way, and Robert of Normandy was thrown forward to dislodge the troops which Baguisian had sent to defend the passages of the stream. A vigorous resistance was made by the Turks, and it was not till the main body of the crusading army arrived that possession of the bridge could be obtained. At length, however, the enemy were dislodged from the bridge and driven back from the fords, and the river was passed simultaneously at various points.

It would seem that much difference of opinion existed amongst the Christian chiefs in regard to the plan of attack, and great irregularity and want of military skill displayed themselves throughout the siege of Antioch. Thus many points were left open which might have been successfully guarded ;

for although the extent of the walls was too great perhaps to permit the crusaders actually to surround the city, yet the very narrowness of the space between the river and the mountains, the depth and swiftness of the Orontes, the marshes, and in fact, all the circumstances which defended the place from assault, rendered it easy to establish an efficient blockade. It does not appear that at any time during the siege, the garrison of Antioch was cut off from communication with the neighbouring country, and the only means to which the crusaders had recourse, were those which had been employed against Nicea. But the walls and towers of Antioch set catapults and mangonels at defiance, and in the meanwhile, the Christians, by their improvidence, waged war against themselves, with greater success than they carried it on against the Turks.

The riches and fertility of the neighbouring country were so great, that the Frankish host seems to have considered them as inexhaustible, and the most scandalous waste and profusion at first took place, the crusaders with wanton luxury refusing to eat any but choice parts of the beasts that were slaughtered. The punishment soon followed the offence; the provisions which in the beginning were scorned, were soon sought with avidity, but could not be obtained; scarcity and famine, with disease in the train of want, now visited the Christian camp; and the Emir, who had taken care to guard against the same evils, by laying up ample stores

and expelling a part of the superfluous population,* harassed the crusaders day by day, with sallies and attacks from the walls, the Franks having pitched their tents so near that many of them were killed in their camp, by arrows shot from the city. Their parties also, when sent forth to procure forage and provisions, were cut off by detachments either from the garrison of Antioch, or from the troops at Aleppo and other towns in the vicinity; and at the same time means were taken to sweep the country of all the cattle, and drive the sheep up into the mountains. The inclemency of the season too aided the efforts of the enemy, and the peculiar severities of an eastern winter were terribly felt by men who were forced to dwell in tents, where humidity could less be guarded against than even cold.

The Christians arrived before Antioch in the end of September, or the beginning of October,† and all the first operations were carried on in the most adverse season of the year. The evils which fell upon the crusading army were aggravated by the illness of Godfrey, who for many weeks was

* Ibn Giouzi informs us that Baguisian before the crusaders actually appeared at Antioch, expelled all the Christians from the city.

† William of Tyre says that the crusaders encamped under the walls of Antioch, on the 18th October, while Kemaleddin declares that they arrived before Antioch, on the 28th of September.

confined to his bed ; while amongst the soldiery vice followed hard upon the steps of want and disease. The purity which had distinguished the Christian camp under the walls of Nicea was now altogether forgotten ; adultery, prostitution, robbery, and gaming, seem to have been common ; drunkenness of course accompanied other vices, and the whole was crowned by famine, producing cannibalism, the living feeding upon the bodies of the slain. To remedy these disorders, the admonitions of the clergy were first employed with prayer, fasting, and penance, and judges were then appointed with power to inspect the camp, remove the vicious, and punish offenders.

Some successful expeditions were made for the purpose of dispersing the troops of Turks which hovered round the Christian force, and of obtaining supplies ; but in general, no sooner was any scheme formed by the crusaders, than it was known to the enemy, and it became evident that the camp was full of spies. The operations of these persons were greatly facilitated by the mixture of nations that existed in the host of the cross, and also by the variety of tribes by which it was surrounded, for dressed as Greek, Armenian, or Syrian believers, the spies were freely admitted by every division of the army, and enacted the part they assumed so well that they were seldom detected.

To remedy this evil a stratagem was devised by Boemond, to which the famine in the Christian camp

gave countenance. He caused several of the intruders who had been taken to be slain and roasted, pretending that it was the intention of the leaders to make all persons of the same honourable profession who might be caught, serve as food for the hungry soldiery. The movements of the crusaders, after this period, were effected with greater security; for such is the force of imagination, that the men who willingly risked death, shrunk from the idea of being roasted and eaten afterwards.

Provisions, however, still remained as scarce as ever, and desertion showed itself in the camp of the crusaders. Amongst the first who withdrew, was the representative of the Emperor Alexius. That monarch, although he had evaded taking any active part in the crusade, upon various frivolous pretences, had always kept alive the expectation that he would carry the imperial arms to Jerusalem. To watch the proceedings of the crusaders rather than to assist them, he had sent Taticius with a small force; and although the presence of the Greek emissary had been of no service to the Latin princes, his desertion now produced the utmost evil. He pretended indeed, that he went solely for the purpose of hastening the march of his master, and sending supplies from the stores of Constantinople; but his real purposes were well understood, and his conduct was speedily imitated. Several bodies of crusaders abandoned the army, and took refuge in the different Christian states that still existed

in the neighbourhood of Antioch. Some pursued their way back towards Constantinople; some sought out Baldwin; some offered their services in towns which had been freed from the Turkish yoke. The Count de Melun, known by the name of William the Carpenter, attempted to fly for the purpose, it would seem, of finding more profitable and less tedious adventures, than the siege of Antioch; and Peter the Hermit himself gave way, amid famine, privation, and neglect, and sought to quit a camp where he was treated with less distinction, than his zeal, courage, and services really merited. The Count and the Hermit, however, were met together by Tancred, while they were endeavouring to effect their flight, and brought back with shame; but the most painful act of desertion which was to occur, did not yet take place.

Nevertheless, various events tended at this time to give fresh courage to the crusaders; an embassy from the Khalif of Egypt, reached the host, and although the messengers had been instructed to mingle threats with promises, yet they encouraged an expectation of coopération from the Egyptian sovereign against the Turks of Syria, whom he looked upon as heretics and usurpers. No important results proceeded from this mission, except that renewal of energy which always accompanies the rising of new hopes. Deputies were sent back from the Christian camp to conclude a treaty with the Khalif, and the siege of Antioch proceeded with greater

vigour and care than before. Means were taken to render the blockade more complete, but this object had not been effected, when news reached both the city of Antioch and the host of the cross, that a fresh body of crusaders had reached the shores of Syria by sea, and were lying with their fleet, in the small port of St. Simeon. This force consisted of Genoese and Pisans, and besides the number of fresh and unwearied troops which the two Republics sent, the fleet conveyed a large quantity of provisions, which were at that moment more wanted than any other kind of assistance. No sooner was the arrival of the Italian ships known, than multitudes of the famishing crusaders hastened down to the port to supply their necessities; and Boemond, with Raymond of St. Giles, were sent to escort their new allies and the precious stores which they bore, to the camp under the walls of Antioch.

To destroy the hopes of his adversaries and supply his own wants, was now the object of Baguisian; and the moment he heard that Boemond and the Count of Toulouse were absent from the Christian host, he made a vigorous attack upon the remaining forces, in which, it would appear, he obtained some success. Four days afterwards, learning that Boemond, loaded with stores, and followed by an unruly rabble, was advancing from the mouth of the Orontes towards Antioch, he sent out a large force to attack that leader, and so skilfully was the expedition conducted, that the Prince of Tarentum

was entrapped into an ambushade amongst the mountains, where he and the Count of Toulouse were completely and signally defeated by the Turks. The two leaders resisted some time, but then fled from the field of battle, the whole of the rest of the crusaders following their example, and escaping as best they might among the woods and hills. The Turks, eager for booty, fell upon the baggage, and thus the number of slain was not so great as might have been expected.

Exaggerated tidings of this event soon reached the Christian camp, and for a time it was supposed that all the troops of Boemond and the Count had perished. Rage took possession of Godfrey and the other leaders, and issuing forth from the camp, followed by the whole disposable forces of the crusade, that great commander prepared to take vengeance on the enemy. With the wisdom which he always displayed in cases of importance, the Duke of Lorraine made his dispositions for giving battle to the hostile force, on its return. While he sent various bodies of men to the other side of the river, he seized in person upon an elevated position opposite to the bridge over the Orontes, and thus guarded himself against attack from the city, while he cut off the Turkish army from their only means of retreat.

Loaded with the spoil, and fancying their triumph complete, the forces of Baguisian marched back towards Antioch; but they found themselves

suddenly attacked by Hugh of Vermandois, the Count of Flanders, the Duke of Normandy, and the very same leaders whom they had put to flight in the morning, but who had rallied their troops, and came up in time to take part in the engagement. Endeavouring to force their way back into the town, they were met by Godfrey and the chivalry of Lorraine, and a terrible slaughter took place. The infidels fought with the most determined valour, and Baguisian, we are told, in order to give them the courage of despair, shut the gates of the town, as an intimation that they must conquer or die.* But they were far outnumbered by the Christian chivalry, and there is no occasion on which such acts of personal daring and strength are recorded, during the whole course of the first crusade, as in this battle under the walls of Antioch. All the figures which the imagination can supply, are exhausted by contemporaries, to represent the sweeping manner in which the crusaders destroyed their enemies; but amongst the achievements of the individual leaders, one act is told of Godfrey, in regard to which all the authorities are so generally agreed, that we are forced to receive the statement in its literal sense. While

* I am inclined to give but little credit to this tale which is given by Raymond, for Baguisian, though the Arabian writers themselves acknowledge that he was a tyrant, was not without those talents which might well become a grandson of Malek Shah; and this act, if it did take place, was certainly as stupid as it was base.

that prince was defending the pass towards the bridge, a Turkish horseman of great height and strength, whom Robert the Monk compares to Goliath, spurred on his horse, we are told, upon the Duke of Lorraine, and at one blow cleft his shield in two. Godfrey returned the stroke, aiming at the head of his adversary; but the infidel turned aside, and the blade catching him on the left shoulder, clove its way through, and came out just above the right hip, leaving one half of the Turk prostrate on the field of battle, while the left arm and the lower part of the body was borne by the horse to the gates of the city.

None of the leaders of the crusade showed themselves backward in the work of destruction, and the Turks were slain in multitudes, both by the fresh troops of Godfrey and his companions who had remained in the camp while Boemond and Raymond had gone to the port, and by the followers of those two princes, many of whom had reached the vicinity of Antioch before those who had despoiled them, and now lined the banks of the river, precipitating the infidels that gained the bridge, into the rushing stream below. The carnage continued till sunset, and the Christians did not return to their camp till they had recovered the whole of the spoil which had been taken by the Turks in the morning.

The numbers of the slain were never ascertained; for multitudes of the Mussulmans perished

in the river, and multitudes had just strength to make their way to the city and die in the midst of familiar faces. About two thousand, however, fell on the field of battle, and the crusaders, with all the savage and implacable spirit of the age, dug up the dead bodies which the Turks had found means to bury during the night, and cast them into the Orontes, the rapid current of which carried them down to the port, announcing to the Genoese seamen the victory which the host of the cross had obtained.

This success, the spoil which had been acquired, and the provisions with which the Italian ships supplied the camp of the crusaders, raised their spirits, and roused their energies, notwithstanding the earthquakes, thunderstorms, comets, and torrents of rain, which, in those ages, might well be considered as evil auguries, and many of which were, in truth, solid and troublesome realities.

The blockade of the town was at length, by measures upon which I cannot dwell, rendered very nearly complete, though not till the fifth month of the siege, and the miseries of famine which the crusaders had so long been feeling, now fell in turn upon the people of Antioch. Baguisian, however, had already made his situation known to all the neighbouring princes of the same faith, and they had not been inactive in preparing to send him assistance. A large body had been collected in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, and

had marched towards Antioch, under several very distinguished leaders, while a sortie from that city was destined to cooperate with the twenty thousand horsemen who advanced from the side of the Euphrates. But the crusaders obtained intelligence of the purposes of their enemies; Boemond and Raymond of St. Giles were despatched with seven hundred lances to seize upon a pass in the mountains, and the position they chose more than compensated for the inferiority of their numbers. The Mussulmans were routed and slain, and the Christian detachment returned to the camp, carrying with them much booty of various kinds.

Shortly after the arrival of the Genoese and Pisans, however, and in the midst of their rejoicings for the two late victories, the crusaders were surprised and afflicted to hear that the representations which Baguisian had addressed to his kinsman, the Sultan of Persia, through that monarch's great minister Kerboga, Emir of Mousoul, had produced a more important effect than any of his applications to other princes. The first intelligence they received of the transaction seems to have shewn them that the Vizier was already moving forward for the deliverance of Antioch at the head of the largest army of Mussulmans which had yet taken the field; and as the scarcity was still but partially removed, as the epidemic sickness increased, as the city held out re-

solutely, and as not the slightest breach had been effected in any part of the walls, these tidings cooled and disheartened many. At this period the courage of Stephen, Count of Blois, which had never been very conspicuous throughout the crusade, failed him entirely; and declaring that his health was declining and could only be restored by the better air of Alexandretta, he abandoned the army before Antioch, accompanied by four thousand men, giving a promise, it would appear, of returning, which he never intended to fulfil.

Though the soldiers viewed his retirement with contempt the example was one of great danger, and the assembled chiefs enacted a law by which those who withdrew from the Christian camp without leave, were to be considered as guilty of murder and blasphemy. Boemond, however, was not restrained by this denunciation from hinting an intention of quitting his companions; and it might have been somewhat dangerous, considering his skill, courage, and the number of his troops, to have applied the newly-promulgated law to him. His valour, his perseverance, and his ambition, were too well known for any one to imagine that in his case, as in that of the Count of Blois, cowardice had any share in the views which he took such pains to announce. It was soon suspected that he was actuated by some sinister motive, and this suspicion was confirmed shortly afterwards by an at-

tempt which he made to gain a promise from the chiefs, that if Antioch were taken by his means, it should be given up to him in pure possession. At first this demand was scoffed at; but as rumours of the approach of Kerboga became more general and frequent, the great majority of the leaders, feeling probably convinced that Boemond had not proposed stipulations without being sure that he could take advantage of them, over-ruled the opposition of the Count of St. Giles, and declared that the city should become the property of the person who actually succeeded in capturing it, with a reservation in favour of the feudal superiority of the Emperor.

Boemond then confided to Godfrey and the rest, that for some time he had entertained a secret communication with one of the inhabitants of the town, the name of whose family was Zerrad, or the Armourer, and whose private name seems to have been Firouz.* The son of this man, we are told,

* William of Tyre informs us that the name of the family was Benizerra, and calls the individual of whom we speak, Emir Feir. He gives us to understand that the traitor was a Christian, and that it was from zeal for the Christian religion that he delivered up the city to Boemond. The good Bishop, however, disfigures several of the names during the whole course of his narrative, and it is scarcely necessary to point out to the reader that both the names of this man were Arabic, and that it is impossible the jealous Baguisian should have left him in command of one of the principal towers of Antioch, if he had not been to all appearance a zealous and devoted Mussulman.

acted the part of a Turkish spy in the Christian camp, and Baguisian, with the common fate of all who employ traitors, was by him betrayed in turn. What were the motives which influenced Firouz, is difficult to discover, but it would seem that he spontaneously offered to introduce the crusaders into Antioch. The Christians pretend that it was zeal for our own religion; but, of the Arabic historians who mention the facts, one declares that Ferouz was moved by indignation at Baguisian, for having plundered him of his wealth, and another lays the load of the treachery upon several inhabitants of Antioch, whom the Emir had oppressed, and who sold the city to the conquerors for a sum of money. All agree, however, that Baguisian was a tyrant, and detested by his people, and in such circumstances it is not necessary to seek for the motives of an act which afforded ample vengeance for any past offences.

Notwithstanding the secrecy with which Boemond and his accomplice had conducted their intrigue, it would seem that vague suspicions of treachery were entertained by the rulers of Antioch, and redoubled vigilance was used in guarding the walls and gates of the city. No time was to be lost by the crusaders,* Kerboga was already at Aleppo: their

* I am still unfortunate enough to differ with Mr. Mills through the whole of this account. He says, speaking of the operations of Boemond, "when it was *least* needed, stratagem was called in to the aid of valour." Now, it appears to me, that it could never

diminished and enfeebled forces had no reasonable hope of resisting him till fresh succour could arrive, but in the capture of Antioch, and every moment was invaluable. All was at length concerted with Ferouz, who agreed to receive the troops of Boemond in the middle of the night, into one of the towers of the city, which was under his command; and at the hour appointed a chosen body approached the part of the wall where it was situated, by a circuitous path, while other corps were stationed opposite to the gates, so as instantly to take advantage of the success of the plot. These forces, however, were not brought into the position assigned to them without great care and caution; the suspicions of the people of Antioch were awake, additional watchfulness was used, an armed guard patrolled the walls during the night, and every movement in the Christian camp was noted with the greatest accuracy.

On the day preceding the fall of Antioch, the only thing that was perceived in the country around by the watchers on the walls of the city, was the departure of a body of about seven hundred men

be more needed than when the Christians, enfeebled by disease, want and bloodshed, and dispirited by disappointment and desertion, saw Antioch still holding out without a stone shaken in its walls, and Kerboga, with his armed myriads, sweeping up from Aleppo. I reject the story of the proceedings which took place in Antioch the day before its fall, as many of the particulars are opposed to the statements of the Arabian authors.

who, towards evening, wound away into the mountains in the direction of Aleppo. The garrison of the place believed that it was a detachment sent to lay wait for the forces of Kerboga; but knowing the immense army the vizier brought with him, they might well view the movement with contempt, under the mistaken notion which they entertained of its purpose.

In the dead of the night, however, traversing the rocks and precipices which lay around the city, the force which they had seen returned towards Antioch;* and as the wind blew in sharp gusts, its howling amongst the passes of the mountain, prevented the near approach of an enemy from being heard in the town. The object of their expedition was then, but not till then, explained to the troops; a single interpreter was sent forward to confer with Firouz; and the tidings being soon brought back that all was ready, Boemond, Robert of Flanders, and Godfrey himself, instantly led the troops to the foot of the tower. A rope was let down from the battlements, and a ladder of hides was raised; but for a moment, the men who had encountered

* Such is the account of Robert the Monk, who was present at the siege of Antioch, and this detachment is undoubtedly the same which was commanded by Tancred, and which we find, set out from the camp the day before the capture of the city. The testimony of Radulphus, or Raoul of Caen, who was not present at the siege of Antioch, is not to be received in opposition to that of eye-witnesses.

danger and death in all its varied shapes, hesitated when an enterprise which was new and strange, was presented to them. At first no one could be found to mount; but at length a gentleman named Fulcher of Chartres, * exclaimed, "In the name of Christ I will mount the first. I am ready to receive whatever God sends me, either the crown of martyrdom, or the palm of victory." He then

* In a former work, I expressed some doubt as to who was the person that mounted first on this occasion, and expressed myself as follows, "There is some reason to believe that Boemond was the first who entered, as stated by William of Tyre; but as Albert of Aix makes no mention of the fact, and as Guibert of Nogent declares positively that Boemond, who is certainly his favourite hero, did not mount till sixty others preceded him, as Raimond de Agiles gives the honor of the feat to Fulcher de Chartres, and as Robert the Monk confirms that assertion, I have left the matter in doubt, as I found it." On farther consideration, however, I have rejected the story of Boemond mounting first altogether, and have adopted the account of the two contemporary writers, who were present in the camp at the time, especially as three contemporaries who were not present, confirm the account, and the opposite statement rests only on the authority of William of Tyre, which though excellent where confirmed by, or not opposed to contemporary writers, can never be put in competition with the account of eye-witnesses. I have taken the whole of the narrative of the capture of Antioch, from the accounts of those who were in the camp at the time, with the exception of one sentence from Fulcher, who was at the time with Baldwin at Edessa, and one sentence regarding the slaughter of several Franks by their companions, from the work of Albertus, also a contemporary. It will be remarked that the Fulcher of Chartres, who mounted first into the tower of Firouz, is not the same Fulcher to whom we owe an account of the first crusade.

began to ascend, and those below soon finding that he had effected his entrance in safety, rushed up in such numbers, that the ladder broke. Several, however, had previously gained the top of the wall, more were aided up afterwards, either by ropes or by other ladders; and, while some of the numbers hastened to open a postern for the entrance of the rest, others attacked the three neighbouring towers, and slaughtered the Turks whom they found within them.

Amongst the victims of the first assault of the crusaders, were the two brothers of Firouz; but the traitor was now in the hands of the Christians, and consequently, though he wept for the death of his relations, he had no power to avenge them. Many anecdotes are related in regard to the taking of Antioch, upon which we cannot pause; and it is sufficient to say that the rest of the forces which had been prepared, rushed into the gates which had been opened for them, and began the work of destruction in the town. The trumpets of the Christians soon roused the slumbering Turks; arms were seized up and battalions marshalled in haste; and, though no hope was left, the troops of Baguisian for some time opposed the Christian army with the most determined courage. They were slaughtered in every direction, however; the towers, the public buildings, the private houses, were entered; and during the whole night the crusaders continued to massacre all they found, with the brutality and

virulence of long defeated rage, and successful fanaticism. In the morning it was discovered that not only the Turks had fallen, but that a number of the Syrian and Armenian Christians had been slain in the indiscriminate slaughter of that night; and yet we are told that all the Christians had been previously drawn out of the city, and that many of the Franks themselves had been killed, not without a suspicion, that they had been slain during the darkness, in the bloody and mistaken zeal of their countrymen.

The success of the army of the cross, however, was not complete; Antioch indeed was taken, but the citadel still remained in the hands of the Mussulmans, and we are informed by the Arabian writer, Abou-yali,* that three thousand found refuge therein, and prepared to defend themselves to the last. Baguisian, however, was not so fortunate; at the first sound of the Christian trumpets, he was seized with panic, imagined that the citadel was in the hands of the Christians, as well as the town, mounted his horse with all speed, and directed his course towards the mountains.† What

* Cited by Ibingiouzi.

† Some of the Christian writers say, that Baguisian took refuge for a time in the citadel, but at length, despairing, left it in disguise, and made his escape from the city. The Arabian historians, however, agree with the best contemporary authorities, in stating that he fled at once, without any delay, thinking that the citadel was in the hands of his enemies.

befel him afterwards, is differently related, even by different Arabian writers. By some he is said to have fled alone, by some we are told that he was accompanied by one or more attendants. The account of Ibngiouzi is most probable, however; and by it we are led to believe that after having left Antioch and passed beyond the lines of the Christian camp in safety, the recollection of his mighty loss came suddenly upon Baguisian, and dismounting from his horse he threw himself down upon the ground in despair, and cast the dust upon his head. At that moment an Armenian woodcutter passed by, and recognizing the tyrant of Antioch, killed him upon the spot.

Whatever was the manner of his death, certain it is that his head was struck off after he had quitted the city, and was brought in, together with his baldric and dagger, and laid at the feet of the crusading princes.

Great riches of various kinds were found in Antioch; but where the necessaries of life are not to be procured by wealth, gold is in reality but as the dust of the ground. Scarcely any provisions remained in the city at the time of its fall; and after the first tumults of joy had subsided in the Christian army, reflection showed the chiefs that their situation had been but little improved by their victory. The army of Kerboga was approaching with rapid marches; and the first news that reached the place after its occupation by the forces of the crusade,

was, that a detachment which had been left to guard the iron bridge, had been attacked and cut to pieces, and that the millions of the Persian host were pouring on towards Antioch.

All hope of procuring a supply of provisions was now at an end; and while the most terrible degree of famine began to show itself in the captured town, the first measure of Kerboga was, to establish a communication with the citadel and introduce supplies for the relief of the Turkish garrison therein. One of the officers of the Emir also threw himself into that fortress, having arranged with his superior a certain code of signals in order that he might communicate to him such of the movements of the crusaders as the lofty situation of the castle enabled him to discover.

Nothing seems to have been attempted on the part of the Christians to impede Kerboga in any of his first movements, and that general immediately invested the city on all sides, cutting off the crusaders from every channel by which supplies could be introduced. The famine now became dreadful in its intensity. The most noisome food was eaten with avidity, the flesh of horses, and all unsavory herbs became dainties at the tables of the great, and the noble chargers of the knights which had hitherto escaped, were slaughtered day by day to supply a scanty portion of sustenance to the starving population. It would seem that Kerboga and his troops—though the awful tale of the misery

which the Christians endured, gives terrible proof of the strictness with which all provisions were excluded—suffered his blockade of the town to be so far evaded, that tidings of what was passing without were frequently received by the crusaders, and that many of the unhappy men escaped over the walls and fled in different directions.

These fugitives carried intelligence of the state of Antioch to Stephen, Count of Blois, at Alexandretta, and that cowardly prince, instead of returning to the assistance of his brethren, retreated rapidly towards Constantinople, although he well knew that Alexius, reassured by the past successes of the Latin forces, and hoping to appropriate all that the host of the cross had won, was marching forward with a large and magnificent army, swelled by numerous reinforcements from the west of Europe. The Count of Blois met the emperor in Phrygia, and their united forces attacking Kerboga under the walls of Antioch in concert with the efforts of the crusaders within, might have obtained a victory which would have altered for ever the fate of Syria. But the dastardly conference of two such princes could have but one result. Alexius, as soon as he heard the tidings brought by the Count of Blois, retreated without a moment's delay, dragging back with him a considerable body of Italian and French pilgrims who had been hastening towards Antioch under the command of a brother of Boemond.

The news of the emperor's approach had filled the hearts of the besieged with joy and hope; the tidings of his retreat, cast them into despair; and again that singular and terrible spectacle was presented which great masses of human beings, when utterly deprived of hope, have frequently offered to the curious inquiries of historical philosophy. Vice of the grossest and foulest description, seemed born of despair, and Christian men, who appeared to have no prospect but an immediate descent into the grave, loaded themselves with all that can make the grave terrible to believers. Listless apathy followed, the troops abandoned the walls, scarcely sufficient soldiers could be gathered together to defend the towers and gates, and to drive the troops forth from the places where they lingered in vice and sloth, Boemond set fire to the town in several places. Even this barbarous measure proved unsuccessful; a portion of the nobler and higher spirits returned to their duty, but still despair, with its wings of night, brooded over the greater part of the host and lulled them into a death-like slumber, which, had their enemies been energetically active, might have ended in utter extinction. Such, happily for the crusading camp, was not the case. The Frankish host in looking from the walls of Antioch beheld the cattle feeding in myriads on the rich pastures which carpetted the banks of the Orontes, and, while pining, wasting, and dying for want,

imagined the choicest blessings of Heaven showered upon the heads of the infidels; but at that very time, a spirit of disunion and discontent had arisen in the Mussulman camp, which paralysed the vast power of the enemy.

Kerboga, though wielding the whole force of the Persian empire, was still in the eyes of his companions, but the Emir of Moussoul. In his own estimation, indeed, he was of a far higher grade; and it is very probable that he did, as some of the Arabian historians affirmed, display a degree of haughtiness and severity which greatly offended the emirs who accompanied him; but another cause of discontent also affected at this time a large body of the vizier's army. He had brought with him not only all those troops which he could muster in his own territories, but also all those that he could collect by the way. Amongst these were the forces of Deccac, Prince of Damascus, between whom and his brother, Redouand, Emir of Aleppo, there existed an inveterate quarrel. Redouand would not march with his brother, and he consequently remained at Aleppo, while the Mussulman army advanced. Redouand, was thus in the rear of Kerboga; and that great prince maintained with the Emir of Aleppo a friendly and serviceable intercourse, which, as soon as it was known, raised the suspicions, and called forth the anger, of Deccac.

All these discontents had subsided, however, before the last grand effort of the Christians took

place, and I have only mentioned them to shew that the first movements of Kerboga's army were impeded, and his energies cramped, by divisions among his subordinates and allies. Nevertheless, very great neglect seems to have existed on his part, as it is clearly shown that, on various occasions, the walls of Antioch were not guarded in such a manner as to resist a vigorous attack ; and yet none such was made.

The famine in the meantime became more and more severe within the town, and so strong was the inclination of the soldiery to desert, that it appeared necessary for all the great leaders to bind themselves by the most solemn vows not to abandon their undertaking as long as forty horsemen would follow them to Jerusalem. At length it struck some skilful person in the host, that superstition must be brought to combat despair. Visions were seen ; prophets and apostles visited the priests and the monks, and in the end it was revealed, in a dream, to a clerk of Provence, by St. Andrew the Apostle, that if a search was made in a certain part of the Church of St. Peter of Antioch, the Roman spear would be found which had pierced our Saviour's side at the crucifixion. Guided by this sacred relic, the forces of the cross were counselled by the spectre of the apostle to issue forth against the Turks and give battle, with the full assurance of obtaining a victory. Such a proceeding at that moment, was certainly the resource of despair, and prudence as well as

piety and sincerity, induced many of the great leaders to discountenance the tale. The Bishop of Puy, and several other chiefs, declared that the vision was a pretence, and asserted that no such lance could be found in Antioch; but others saw that the hopes of the troops were renewed in a wonderful manner by the mere unsupported tale; and they encouraged the enthusiasm, arguing that no succour was near, that the men must obtain food, and that a battle must ultimately be risked. Raymond of Toulouse had already greatly benefitted by a vision of a similar kind. St. Giles having twice appeared during his illness near Antiochetta, with assurances that he would recover, which promises had been fulfilled, when he had seemed even at the point of death. He therefore gave the fullest support to the Provençal priest, and it was accordingly agreed that the lance should be sought for in form.

At first no such implement could be found in the place designated; but when at length the priest who had seen the apostle, descended into the pit which had been dug, the iron head was discovered in a moment, and brought forth to the eyes of the wondering people. The enthusiasm was now so great, and the visions were so dangerously multiplied, that it became necessary to seize the favourable moment for a great effort, and one of the most extraordinary proceedings of the crusade took place. It was determined to send Peter the Hermit, and a personage named Heloïne with a threatening message to Ker-

boga, demanding that the quarrel between the Christians and the Turks should be settled by a combat between certain champions chosen on each side. The vizier received the message with contempt, and sent back an answer full of scorn and pride. His reply was related to Godfrey, who, it is said, prevented it from being made known to the rest of the army. Preparations for speedy battle were then commenced, and on the morning of the twenty-eighth of June, 1098, the host of the crusade began to issue forth from the gates of Antioch in order to attack the enemy. Wretched indeed was the sight presented by those gallant forces, which not quite two years previous had commenced their march towards the storied land of Palestine. Squalid famine sat upon their countenances, their worn arms and dimmed weapons told both of labour and of apathy; and such had been the pressing curse of dearth, that of all the noble chivalry which but a short time before had spurred on their splendid steeds to the battle-field, not above two hundred had preserved their horses to go forth against the enemy. The Count of St. Giles remained to guard the town, and Godfrey himself borrowed the charger of that nobleman in order that he might appear mounted at the head of his troops.

At the beginning of the seige, the army of Kerboga, at the very lowest estimation, amounted to more than three hundred thousand men. The Arabs themselves admit a hundred thousand horsemen

completely armed; but every day during the vizier's stay, this force had been increased by immense reinforcements, and we are assured, from very good authority, that it now amounted to nearly seven hundred thousand men. Kerboga had been joined by Soliman, or Kilig Arslan, with all the forces that he could muster, and by all the Emirs of Syria, Armenia, Cappadocia and Mesopotamia. The Franks, who now issued forth from Antioch, were but a handful in comparison, enfeebled by famine and disease, and worn with long toil and desperate contests; but they were animated with religious enthusiasm, with the chivalrous spirit of the land from which they came, and with the superstitious expectation of divine aid, so that confidence in their own power to win a victory, was never more active amongst them.

The troops were divided into four bodies; or as the crusaders themselves call it, into eight, for in their account they separate the horse from the foot of each nation. Hugh of Vermandois, the Count of Flanders, and Robert of Normandy, led the first division; the foot preceding the small force of horsemen, and advancing steadily towards a point in the mountains at the distance of about two miles. Godfrey* of Bouillon, the great leader and commander of the whole host, followed next at the head of his

* I cannot pass over an extraordinary assertion which Mr. Mills makes in regard to the command of the army, as the opinion has consequently gained ground, that Godfrey was never in any degree

own troops. The Bishop of Puy, clothed in armour, sometimes bearing the sacred lance himself, sometimes entrusting it to the hands of his chaplain,

recognised as the leader of the crusade, and that Tasso violates the facts of history by so representing him. Mr. Mills says in a note: "This assertion of Baldwin, that his brother Godfrey was generalissimo, was an artifice in order to gain some consequence with the people of Tarsus. The whole tenor of the crusade shews, that whatever respect was paid to Godfrey, was not a tribute to power, but to superior virtues and talents. The Duke of Lorraine never attempted to convert that superiority, which was yielded to his merits, into a real dominion. The operations of the army were directed by a council of chiefs, of which the Count of Blois and Chartres was the president. Archbishop of Tyre, p. 703. *It was the celebrated Benedetto Accolti who furnished Tasso with the idea that Godfrey was supreme commander.*

All this gives a completely false idea of the true state of the case; the assertion of Baldwin was certainly deceitful, for he himself was entrusted with no superior command; but the whole tenor of the history of the crusades shows, that Godfrey had been elected leader, as his brother stated; and, moreover, many of the contemporary writers and eye-witnesses point out, in distinct terms, that such was the case. Besides, the speech of Baldwin, recorded by Albert of Aix without comment, the same writer, in the beginning of the fourth book of his history, says, speaking of one of the battles with the Turks, in which all the Christian leaders were present: "Tandem à Duce Godefrido populoque fidelium triumphatis et obrutis in gurgitis flumine adversariis Christianæ plebis." He is continually called *Dux*, without any name following; but this is not all, for Robert the Monk, who accompanied the army repeatedly, mentions him as the General of the leaders; thus, in the seventh book, he says: "Quod ut vidit Dux ducum Godefridus;" and again, "Quid Dux ducum Godefridus quid Boamondus, quid clara juvenus ibi egerint," &c.

Raymond de Agiles, led on the crusaders of Languedoc ; and the rear of the whole was brought up by Boemond and Tancred, with the Norman and Italian forces from Apulia.

Early in the morning, a black flag hoisted on the towers of the citadel had announced to Kerboga that the Christians were in movement ; but that general committed the great fault of despising his enemy, and he suffered the whole host of the crusade to issue forth, troop after troop, and man after man, without the slightest attempt to attack them, ere they could be put in array. By some we are told that he was playing at chess when the bands of his adversaries began to appear under the walls of Antioch, and that he contemptuously finished his game before he made any movement to impede their progress. One of the Arabian historians says, that he held a council in order to ascertain the opinion of his allies as to whether he should suffer the Franks to issue forth from the city or not ; and Aboul Faradj declares that Kerboga allowed the besieged army to quit the sheltering walls of Antioch, in the proud expectation of destroying the whole at one blow.*

Whatever might be the feelings of the vizier at first, he seems to have been seized with some degree of apprehension, as he saw the firm array

* Aboul Faradj had probably read some of the Frankish historians of the crusade, as we find the same assertion in several of their works. See *Robertus*, lib. vii.

of the Christian troops, and the force which they still mustered. Almost all the historians of the time aver that he now repented having refused the challenge at first made him, to determine the possession of Syria by a combat between certain champions, and that he dispatched messengers to Godfrey then on his march, offering to submit to that means of decision. This proposal was immediately rejected by the leaders of the crusade, who replied that they had come out to fight for the land of Christ, and were resolved to abide the issue of the battle. They still pursued their course towards the mountains, where the immense superiority of the Mussulman cavalry could not affect them. The priests and monks, mingled with the soldiery, sung hymns and psalms to God as they proceeded ; and the warlike Bishop of Puy paused for a moment when his division had reached a secure position, and addressed a few words of soul-stirring exhortation to the crusaders assembled around him.

In the mean time, the vizier had not been remiss in endeavoring, as far as possible, to remedy the error he had committed in suffering the host of the cross to issue forth from the gates of Antioch unattacked. Dividing his forces into two parts, he sent an immense body of chosen horsemen under Soliman, Sultan of Rhoum, the first, the most persevering, and the most skilful enemy of the Franks, to fall upon the rear of Boemond, as he led forth the last division of the crusaders. At the same

time, he himself stretched out the wings of his army, to outflank the troops of Hugh of Vermandois, so that for a moment the Christians were enclosed between the rocky steeps of Libanus and a crescent of nearly seven hundred thousand men. The battle immediately commenced by Godfrey and Hugh of Vermandois, with the forces of Lorraine attacking the main body of Kerboga's army; and with such vehemence, skill, and courage did the Duke make his onset, that the vizier himself was driven back nearly to his camp, and victory seemed hovering over the banners of the cross. At that instant, the dry grass and reeds, which had risen from the marshy land in the neighbourhood of the gates of Antioch, were fired by the orders of Soliman, to cover, under the smoke and blaze, the movements of the Seljukian horse; and then took place that tremendous charge of cavalry, which, casting the troops of Boemond into disarray and confusion, had well nigh extinguished the flame of the crusade in the heart's blood of the Christian soldiery. Tancred, however, flew to the assistance of his cousin, Hugh of Vermandois hastened to aid the forces of Apulia; Godfrey, leaving a large part of his troops to carry on the combat with Kerboga, hurried to the spot where the greatest danger existed; and the Bishop of Puy, advancing with his division, supplied the vacancy which this movement on the part of Godfrey had produced in the army of the crusaders.

Thus stood the battle, when superstition came to the aid of valour and skill. Whether it was the force of imagination, or some happy accident, or one of the skilful combinations of priestly craft, can hardly now be told ; but a body of men were seen coming over the mountains to the aid of the Christians. Fancy or art had arrayed them in garments of resplendent white ; angels were said to be fighting in the ranks of the cross, and the redoubted battle-cry of "God wills it ! God wills it !" once more thundered over the field. Soliman and his multitudes were driven back ; the troops of the centre were thrown into disorder ; the vizier's left wing wavered ; and at the same moment the terrible news spread far and wide that the Franks had forced their way into the Mussulman camp.

Terror and confusion, and disgraceful flight succeeded ; the vizier himself hurried from the field of battle ; Soliman once more fled ; the Christians, mounting the horses of the slain or captured Turks, urged the pursuit under the command of Tancred for many miles, and drove the enemy across the Orontes. The stream flowed with the blood of the infidel, and the number of slain must have been tremendous. Robert the Monk, who was present assures us that a hundred thousand of the horsemen fell upon the part of the Turks, between the city of Antioch and the iron bridge ; and that the foot who were killed were not counted. Others reduce the number to sixty-nine or seventy thou-

sand men, both horse and foot; and the Arabian, Kemaleddin, would fain persuade his readers, that few besides the rabble and the foot soldiers were slain by the crusaders. He admits, however, that the slaughter was terrible; and Abouyali and Ibn-giouzi are too much surprised and astounded by the unexpected victory of the enemy, to attempt to diminish the marvellous success of the Christian host.

As usual, on this occasion took place many of those acts which leave a dark and horrible blemish on the heroes of the crusade. An indiscriminate massacre took place in the camp of Kerboga; women and children were put to the sword; and fierce wrath and savage vengeance, for a time, even superseded the cravings of hunger and the thirst of plunder. Immense spoil, however, was taken upon the field. The tent of Kerboga, itself one of the marvels of eastern magnificence, formed in the shape of a city, and capable of lodging two thousand men, fell to the share of Boemond; but, besides this, the quantity of gold and silver, and rich arms and splendid clothing, and camels, and other beasts of burden, was immense; while the store of provisions of all kinds which the vizier was forced to leave behind in his flight, was of still greater value to the half-famished host of the crusade.

The Count of Toulouse, or of St. Giles, had, as we have shown, remained within the walls of

Antioch, to protect the city from the infidel garrison of the citadel; but the commander of the castle seeing the rout of Kerboga, and his flight from the field of battle, sought safety in a negotiation with the deputies of Raymond, who was at the time too ill to receive in person the surrender of that fortress. Raymond, however, whose craft never lost sight of his own personal advantage, saw in the proposal of the governor a prospect of obtaining possession of the citadel of Antioch for himself; and he speedily concluded a treaty with the Lieutenant of Kerboga, by which it was stipulated that such of the Turkish soldiers as chose to remain and embrace the Christian religion might do so, and that the rest should be safely conducted to a certain distance beyond the limits of the conquered territory. This having been settled, he spread his banner over the gates of the castle, and waited the return of the victorious host.

His convention with the garrison was most faithfully executed; but the unfortunate Turkish soldiery did not find security, for the inhabitants of the greater part of the country round were Armenian or Syrian Christians, who had borne impatiently the Turkish yoke, and who, as soon as the utter defeat of the vizier was known, fell upon any scattered bands of Mussulmans that they met with and massacred them without mercy. Thus were slain many of the garrison after the Frankish guard had left them, and thus also fell a multitude of the troops

of Kerboga while flying from the terrible battle of Antioch.

Hymns, and psalms, and acts of gratitude to God, accompanied the crusading army back into the city. The cleansing, and purifying, and consecrating the Turkish mosques for the offices of a holier faith, were the first occupations of the crusaders, as well as the restoration of the many Christian churches which had been desecrated by the ceremonies of Mahommedanism. With wise moderation, however, the Latins, though they held the faith of the Greeks to be heretical, did not interfere with the rights of the patriarch, but allowed those churches which had been originally devoted to the Greek form of Christianity to be restored to their former uses.

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